

THE GOLDEN BOKE OF
MARCVS AVRE-
lius Emperour and
eloquence ora-
tor.

London.

AN.M.D.XLVI.

THE TABLE.



Of the byrth and linage
of Marke Aurely An-
thony emperour.

Cap. primo.

What maisters Marc
Aurely hadde in his
youth.

Cap. ii.

What sciences Marcus the emper-
our leained, and of a maruailous let-
ter that he sent to Dolion.

Cap. iii.

How for the wisdom of Marcus many
wise men flourished in his tyme.

Ca. iiii.

Of the emperour Marcus sonne na-
med Verissimus.

Cap. v.

What wise and auncient men Marc-
us chose to instruct his sonne.

Cap. vi.

Howe it chaunced to five wise men,
wherfore they were put out of the em-
perours house.

Cap. vii.

Howe the emperour reasoned with
the maisters that shoulde learne his
sonne.

Cap. viii.

How the maisters of pryuces ought
to hepe them from vices.

Cap. ix.

Howe the emperour Marcus nouri-
shed the princeesses his daughters.

ca. x.

Howe Marcus the emperoure ord-
chose and proued his sons in law.

ca. xi.

What

THE TABLE

¶ What the emperor Marcus saied
to the father of a yong man, that wold
marry one of his daughters. Ca. xiii.

¶ Howe a sonne in lawe oughte to bee
well crampned, er he be accepted to his
purpose. Cap. xiiii.

¶ Howe Marc the emperor fauoured
all noble exercyses, and hated trewona
des and tooles. Cap. xv.

¶ Of the good conuersacion of the
emperor Marcus Aurelius. Ca. xvi.

¶ Of the feast that the Romans kept
to the god Iano in Rome and what
chaunced to the saied Emperour there
Cap. xvii.

¶ Howe Marcus the emperor answer
ed a senatour in the Senate. Ca. xviii.

¶ Howe the emperor Marcus deuy
ded the howres of the daie for the busi
nes of the empyre. Cap. xix.

¶ The answer of Marke the empe
rour tohan Faustine his wife deman
ded the key of his study. Cap. xx.

¶ The emperor reherseth the perils
of them that haunt women excessiue
ly. Cap. xxi.

¶ The emperours answer to Faustine
for that she said, he was a child. Ca. xxii.

¶ Howe tidinges was brought to the
emperor, A. ii.

THE TABLE.

emperor, that the Maurpains wold
conquere great Brytaine. Cap. xxi.

What the emperor saied to them of his
court in eschewing ydelnes. Cap. xxii.

Of the perillous liuing of them that
haunt the court contynually. Ca. xxiii.

How the emperor wold haue them
of his court to lyue. Cap. xxv.

Of a maruaylous and a fearefull
monster that was sene in Sicile, and of
his wylfnges. Cap. xxvi.

What befelle to a cytesen of Rome
in the tyme of this emperor Marcus.

Cap. xxvii.

Of a great pestilence that was in
Italy in this emperours tyme. Ca. xxviii.

Howe Marcus answered his phis-
icions that wolde haue hym leane his
study. Cap. xxix.

Howe science oughte to bee in prin-
ces. Cap. xxx.

What a byllaine saied to the Sena-
tors of Rome in the presence of the
emperor. Cap. xxxi.

Of dyuers other thynges that the
byllayn said before the senate. Ca. xxxii.

How the emperor desyred the welth
of his people, and the people his weal-
the. Cap. xxxiii.

Howe

THE TABLE.

- Howe the emperour gaue Lucilla his
doughter licence to spozte her at his
palays. **Cap. xxxiij.**
- What Marcus the emperour sayd to a se-
nator, as touchyng trisphes. **ca. xxxv.**
- Of the greate reproche that the empe-
rour gaue to his wyfe Faustine and
her doughter. **Cap. xxxvi.**
- Howe the emperour counsailed Faustine
to eschewe yll occasions of her dought-
er. **Cap. xxxvii.**
- What thought Marcus the emperour
tooke for the mariage of his dought-
ers. **Cap. xxxviii.**
- Of a siknes wherof the emperour died, of
his age, and where he dyed. **ca. xxxix.**
- The woordes of Panatius, secretaie
to the Emperour, at the houre of his
deathe. **Cap. xl.**
- Howe the emperour demanded to haue
in writyng al that the Secretary had
sayde. **Cap. xli.**
- The aunswere of the Emperour to Pa-
natius. **Cap. xlii.**
- What the emperour sayde to the may-
sters of his sonne, and to the rulers of
the mynys. **Cap. xliii.**
- Howe the emperour at the houre of his
deathe, sent for his sonne, and besta-
red

THE TABLE

red to hym, who shoulde gouerne the
 empyre. Cap. xliiii.
 What theemperour sayd to his sonne at
 the howre of his death. Cap. xlv.
 Of other more particular counsels gy-
 uen by theemperour to his son. Ca. xlv.
 Of dyuers and particular recommen-
 dacions, whiche theemperour coman-
 ded his sonne. Cap. xlvii.
 Of the laste wordes that the emperour
 spake to his sonne, and of the table
 that he gaue hym. Cap. xlviii.
 A letter sent by Marcus Aureli^o to Py-
 ram^o his special fréd. The fyrst letter.
 A letter sent by Marcus the emperour
 to Cornelius, of the trauaile of warre
 and vanitie of triumph. The. ii. letter.
 To Torcatus being at Galette in cōso-
 lacion of his banishmēt. The. iii. letter.
 A letter to Domitius of Capue to com-
 fort him i his banishmēt. the. iiii. letter.
 A letter sent fro the emperour to Clau-
 dius and Claudine his wyfe, because
 they beynge olde, lyued as yonge pers-
 ones. The. v. letter.
 A letter sent from Marcus theemperour
 to Labinia a Romayn wydowe for to
 comforte her for the death of her hus-
 bande. The. vi. letter.

THE TABLE.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to
Lucinatus his frende, bycause he be-
-ying a gentleman, became a marchant
The. vii. letter.

A letter sent from Marke the emperour
to Catulus Cesorius, that was sorow-
full for the deathe of his sonne Meris-
simus. The. viii. letter.

A letter sente by Marke the emperour to
Marcutino, beyng at Senny, now cal-
led Bonauent. The. ix. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour, to
Antigonus, comforting hym in a so-
rowfull case. The. x. letter.

An other letter sent by Marke the Em-
perour to the same Antigonus against
cruell iudges. The. xi. letter.

A letter sent by Marke to Lambert go-
uernor of the Ile of Helespont, whan
he dyd banyshe the vacabundes from
Rome. The. xii. letter.

A letter sent by Mark the emperour to
Catulus his speciall frend, of the no-
uelties of Rome. The. xiii. letter.

A letter sent by Mark the emperour to the
amorous ladies of Rome, bicause they
made a plase of him. The. xiiii. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to
Boemia a louer of his, that woulde
haue

THE TABLE.

have gone with hym to the warres.
 The. xv. letter.
 The answer to the emperours letter
 sent by Boemia. The. xvi. letter.
 A letter sent by Marke the emperor to
 Martine a yonge mayden of Rome,
 of whome he was enamoured, seinge
 her at a wyndowe. The. xvii. letter.
 Another letter sent by Marke the em-
 perour to the sayde gentyll woman
 writing. The. xviii. letter.
 A letter sent by Marke the emperor to
 Libia, a fayre lady Romayne.
 The. xix. letter.

FINIS TABVLAE.



As the tyme is
 an inuenter of nouel-
 ties, and a regenter
 certayne of thynges
 aunciente, and at the
 ende, tyme gyuerthe
 ende to that suerthe
 ende: The tnerthe all onely amouge
 all thynges is privileged, in such wyse,
 that whanne the tyme semeth to haue
 broken her wynges, than as immortall
 she taketh her force. There is nothyng
 so entier, but it deminisherthe, nor no-
 thyng so hole, but that it weyeth, nor no-
 thyng so strong, but that it breaketh, nor
 nothyng so well kept, but that it cor-
 rupteth. Soo all these thynges tyme as-
 theueth and burieth, but onely trouth,
 the whiche (of the tyme, and of all
 thyng that is in the tyme) triumpheth.
 Neether to bee fauoured of the good,
 nor to be persecuted of the yll, maie be,
 but that sometyme trouth maie be stop-
 ped and hydde, but whan it is displea-
 sed and wyll displease, than at the laste
 she cometh to a good porte, and taketh
 lande. The frutes in the spryngyng
 tyme haue not the vertue to gyue suste-
 naunce nor perfyte sweetenelle to satis-

THE PROLOGVE.

He the taste of them that eateth thereof:
 but than passeth the season of sommer,
 and haruest cometh, whiche tyme both
 better ripe them, and than that that
 we doe eate dothe profite vs, the profite
 thereof is ryghte lauerpynesse, and gy-
 uethe the more force and vertue, and
 the greater is the state. I will in these
 fyrste wordes saie, that in the fyrste a-
 ges men were more esteemed by theyr
 meke customes and delycatenes, than
 thei were after reprovod by their grosse
 and rude vnderstandynges. Certainly
 somme of the aunciente philosophers,
 I speake of the mooste aunciente, as
 welles Caldees as Grekes, who fyrste
 lyfted theim selues to regarde the ster-
 res of the heuen, and surmounted the
 hyghe mounte of Olympius, there to
 contemplate and regarde the influen-
 ces of the planettes in the heuen: I dare
 well saie, that they haue rather meri-
 ted pardon by theyr ignoraunces, than
 praysyng or grace by theyr wysedome.
 These were the fyrste that wold seeke
 the trouthe of the elementes of the he-
 uen, and yet they were the fyrste that
 dyd some errours in thynges naturall
 of the erthe. Homere in his Illiade
sayd

THE PROLOGVE.

sayd these wordes in speaking of phi-
 losophers: I praise nothyng the know-
 ledge of myne auncesters, but I can them
 great thanke and prayse, in that they
 despyred knowledge. This was well
 sayde of Homer. For if among the aun-
 ciente men had not reigned suche igno-
 raunce, there had not ben so many sec-
 tes of parcialities in euery schole. Be-
 that hath redde the aunciente antiqui-
 ties of the philosophers, shall not deny
 me the presumption of the knowlage,
 and ignoraunce of that they despyred to
 knowe, the whiche is thys cause that
 science is not all one. There is greatte
 nombze of parcialities, Cinitiens, Sta-
 toniens, Peripaticiens, Academicns,
 and Epicuriens, who were as contray
 in their opinions, as diuers in their na-
 turalities. I wyll not that my penne
 bee so dismeasured to reprove so muche
 the aunciente men, that the glorie all
 onely shoulde abyde with them that be
 presente. Trulye yf he merite guardon
 and prayse, that sheweth me the waie,
 wherby I thynke to passe, yet no lesse
 mercyteth he, that sheweth and aduys-
 seth me of the waie, wherby I maye
 faile. The ignoraunce of the auncient
 men

THE PROLOGVE.

men hath ben but as a gypse to aduylse
 and aduertise all other, and because
 they erred, wee haue founde sithe the
 waie, to theyr greatte prayse, and to
 our greatte shame. I saie, that if wee
 that be nowe presente had beene than,
 we had knowen lesse than they dydde.
 And yf they that were than were nowe
 at this houre, they should surmounte vs
 in knowlage. And that this is true it
 appereth well. For the auncient sages,
 with ther diligence to knowe the trowth
 by theyr close & ferme made the waies:
 But we by our slowthe folowe not the
 open wayes. Than to the purpose that
 I wil saie, we that be now present, can
 not complaine of them that haue bene,
 but that the trowth (the whiche accor-
 ding to Aug. gel. is doughter of þ time.)
 in this tyme of the worlde declareth
 to vs the erroures that wee ought to
 fle, & the trowth of the doctrine that we
 ought to folowe. But as nowe the hu-
 maine malyce is so expert, and the vn-
 derstanding of mortalle men is so dull,
 that in tyme of neede, in goddnesse of
 wit we faile, & in all yf we knowe more
 than we ought to knowe. In such wise,
 that some with one parte of the more,
 and

THE PROLOGUE

and some with lesse, all presume to wyne
the game. And though this be true, yet
it is but a small thing to that we abide
for: There is so much that we ought to
knowe. For the most that we knowe, is
the leaste parte of that we be ignorant
of, as the thynges natural, according to
the variety of the time, like maner both
the operations of the elementes. In sem-
blable wise in thynges mortall, as the
ages hath succeeded, so are discovered
the sciences. For certaine at the frutes
cometh not together. When one faileth,
an other beginneth to entre in season. I
will saie, that neither all doctours a-
mong christen men, nor all the philoso-
phers amonge the gentiles were con-
current in one time, but after the death
of one good, an other came better. The
highe and supreme wysedome, the whiche
all meane thynges gouernethe by
Iustyce, and departeth it accordynge
to his bountee, wil not that at one time
the worlde shulde want or be destitute
of sage men, nor at an other time wante
of symple personnes: some despyng
the fruite, and some the leaues. In
suche sorte that they shoulde haue en-
uie of that other were impeched.

W ill

This

THE PROLOGYE.

This aunciente worlde that came in
 Saturnus daies, the whiche otherwile
 was called the Golden worlde, the
 whiche was so esteemed of them that
 sawe it, and so muche praysed of them
 that herde the wytyng thereof, and soo
 muche desired of them that felte no
 parte thereof, was not golde by the sa-
 ges that dyd gyfte it, but bycause that
 there was none yt that dyd vngyfte it.
 This our age now is of yron: yet it is
 not called of yron, for faute of sages,
 but bycause the malycious people sur-
 mounte. I confesse one thyng, and I
 thynke I shall haue many wylle fa-
 uoure me in the same, that there was
 neuer in the worlde soo muche people
 teaching vertue, and so fewe folowynge
 the same. Gul. Gele saith in his booke,
 that the auncient sages were holden in
 reputacion, bycause there were fewe
 teachers and many lerners: and at this
 houre it is contrary, ther be but fewe
 lerners, and manye teachers. The
 smalle esteeme that the sages bee in at
 this tyme, maye bee seene by greatte
 veneration that the philosophers were
 holden in as thanne, the whiche thyng
 was trewe: Homer among the Grekes,
 Salo-

THE PROLOGUE.

Salomon amonge the Hebrewes, A-
 gurge amonge the Lacedemoniens, Li-
 uie amonge the Romaynes; Cicero a-
 monge the Latines, Apollonius Thias-
 neus amonge all the barbarike nati-
 ons. I desyre to haue bene in all these
 ages, whan the worlde was so reche of
 sage persons, and so poore of symple
 persons, whanne they assembled out of
 ferre countreyes, and of dyuers real-
 mes and straunge nations: not all ones
 ly to haue herde their doctrines, but
 also to haue sene their persons. I thinke
 I am not begyled in the histories. For
 whan Rome in his mooste prosperitie
 was hyghest in tryumphe, Titus Livi-
 us doth write in his histories, and the
 glorious sayncte Hierome affirmeth it
 in the prologue of the bible, that mo-
 people came to Rome to se the eloquen-
 ces of the booke, more than to ioye any
 Romayne triumph. Whan Olimpias
 was deliuered of her chylde the great
 Alexander, Philyp her husbande and
 father to the yonge chylde wrote a let-
 ter to Aristotle, wherin he sayd: I giue
 great graces to the goddis, not all ones
 ly that they haue gyuen vnto mee a
 sonne, but bycause they haue gyuen him

to

to

THE PROLOGUE.

to me in the tyme that thou mayst bee
his myster, and be thy disciple. Asare
Hurele the emperour, of whome this
present boke entreaterh, he speakynge
of him selfe wrote to Bolton these wordes:
Frende I will thou knowe, that I
am not made emperour by reason of
the bloude of my predecessours, nor yet
for the fauour of my kynage nowe pre-
sente, but it was by cause I haue bene
alwayes a frende and louer of the sage
people, and enemy to them that haue no
good knowlage. Right happye was
I come to chose so valiant an emperour;
and right fortunat was that emperour
to come to such an empire, not by patri-
monie, but by sagenes. And yf that age
was glorious in loyeng of his persone,
no less it is to vs to loye of his doctri-
nes. I wyll intitile this boke the Gol-
den boke. It maye be called golden, by-
cause in so hygh estimation it holdeth
the vertuous, discoverynge in their
time this boke with the sentences, as
these princes holdeth their mynes of
golde in their Indees. But I saie that
at this houre there bee moo hertes
banyshted into the Indees of golde,
thanue to employe them to rede the
wate

THE PROLOGUE.

Warkes of this booke. Salustie saith, that there oughte great glorie be giuen to them that haue done verie hygh and great actes: And that there oughte no lesse fame and renoume be giuen to those that in a good stile haue written them. In this case I confesse to desire no merites for my translation of any fame, but I demaunde pardon of all them that be sage, for the fautes that they shall fynde therein. For excepte the blisphemy letters, there is nothing so well written, but that there maie be founde necessarie of correction, lyne, and sentence. This seemed to be true, by that Socrates was reprovied of Plato, and Plato of Aristotle, Aristotle of Aeneas, Cicero of Sulpice, Tully of Varro, Marcius of Tullie, Enio of Horace, Seneca of Aule Gelle, Estratocles of Strabo, Telsato of Galene, Parmenore of Cicero, origen of Iulianus Hierom, Iulianus Hierom of Rufyn, and Rufyn of Donate? Sythe that in them and in theyr warkes there haue bene correction, whoso were meane of hygh knowlage, it is no reason that I should bee in theyr fraternitie, seeing that I knowe so lytle as I do, to

B.b.

the

THE PROLOGVE.

the examination of wise and vertuous men. To theim I submit this presente warke, and to theim that haue beene suche, I them require to be contente to be the reders, and not iudges thereof. It were no pacience to suffre, nor lawe to permytte, that a thyng that a sage personne with greatte maturitie and deliberation hath wyrtten, to bee dyspraised by a symple persone. For ones readyng, oftentymes the auctoures and wyrters are dysprayed, not of them that can traduce and compose werkes: but of theym that can not vnderstande theym, and yet lesse rede theym. I saie further of aduantage, that dyuers haue wyrtten of the tyme of the saide Marke Aurelio emperour, as Herodian wrote lyttel, Eusebio lesse, Lampyidio yet lesse, Julius Capitolin somewhat more. The wyrtynge of theim, and of other semethe rather epitomes, than histories. There is difference bytwene this wirtynge, and that thei wrote by helyng saie: but they, by whome I haue composed this present warke, they were witnesse by syght, and not by helyng of other, but they wrote what thei sawe theim selfe.

That

THE PROLOGVE.

That is to saye amonge the maplers,
who learned the said emperor the
sciences, there were thre, that is to say,
Junio Bruttio, Cna Catule, and Ser-
to Cheronense, newelwe to the greatte
Plutarche. These bene they that haue
written this present history, Serro Che-
ronense in greke, and the other two in
latine. I thynke of this historie is but
small notice, bycause vnto this houre
it hath not bee sene imprinted. When
I departed frome the college of my stu-
dy, and wente to preache in the palays,
where I sawe soo many newe nouelties
in the courtes, I delyuered my selfe
with greatte desyre to knowe thynges,
and gaue my selfe to searche and
knowe thynges auncient. And the case
fortuned on a daie, redyng an history,
I founde therein matter to be noted in
a pistell, and it semed to me soo good,
that I put all myne humayne forces to
serche farther. And after in reuoluyng
dyuers boke, serchyng in dyuers libra-
ries, and also speakyng with diuers sa-
ges of diuers realmes, finally I found
this tretise in Florence, among the bo-
kes leftte there by Cosme de Medicis,
a man of good memorie. I haue vled in
this

THE PROLOGVE.

this wytyng, the whiche is humayne
 that that dyuers tymes hath bene vsed
 in diuinitie, that is to reduce, not worde
 for word, but sentence for sentence. We
 other interpreters are not bounde to
 geue for the meane the wordes, it suffi-
 ceth to geue for the weyght the senten-
 ce: As the historiographes, of whome
 there were dyuers, and the history that
 they made was all but one thyng. I
 wyll not deny, but I haue left out some
 wordes, whiche were not mete, nor well
 sytting, rude, and least of valure, and I
 haue medled it with other more swete
 and profytable. I thynke that euery
 wise man after he hath reade this boke
 wyll not saye that I am the principall
 auctor of this worke, nor yet to iudge
 me so ignorant to exclude me cleue
 from it, for so hygh sentences are not
 founde at this presente tyme, nor to soo
 hyghe a stile they of tyme past neuer
 attayned.

Here endeth the
 prologue.

Here

There begynneth the booke of the life
of the noble and eloquent Marcus
Aurely emperor.
Of the birth and lynage of Marke Au-
rele Anthony emperor. cap. primo.



In the yere of
the fundation of Rome
vi. C. lxxxv. in the Sa-
lutiade. C. lxxii. An-
thony the meke, being
deade, thann consules
Fulvie Caton, and Gnee Patrocle in
the highe capitoll. the . liii. daie of
Octobie, at the demaunde of all the
people Romaine, and consent of the sa-
cred Senate, was declared for empe-
rour vniuersall of all the monarche of
Rome, Marke Aurely Antony. This
excellente baron was naturallie of
Rome borne in the mount Celie. And
accordyng as Julius Capitoline saith,
he was borne the . vi. kalendes of
Maie, the whiche accordyng to the ac-
count of the latus, was the . xxvi.
daie of the moneth of Aprill passed.
His father was named Antio. Viro.
For

MARCVS.

For the occasion wherof, the histories
 dyuers tymes calle hym Marc Antho-
 ny Nero. True it is, that Adriane the
 emperour called hym Nerissimus, by-
 cause in hym was neuer founde any lyes,
 nor neuer failed the trowthe. These A-
 nius Neres was a lignage, that annun-
 ced them to bee descended of Roma
 Pompilio, and of Quintus Curtius
 the famous Romayn: whiche for to de-
 lyuer the towne of Rome frome perille,
 and to geue his persone perpetuall me-
 morie, of his owne good free wyll he
 yelded hym selfe to the same voyage,
 that as than was sene in Rome. The
 mother of this emperour was called
 Domiciade, as Cyne historien recoun-
 terbe in the booke of the lygnages of
 Rome. The Camilles were persones
 in that tyme greatly esteemed, bycause
 they were accompted to be descended of
 Camille the famous and aunciente ca-
 pitayne Romayne, whiche deliuered
 Rome frome the Gaulles, that hadde
 wonne it. The men that descended of
 that lygnage were, called Camilly,
 for the remembraunce of Camille, and
 the women were lykewyse called Ca-
 milles, in the remembraunce of a dought-
 ter

ter of the sayde Camille, that was called Camilla.

There was an aunient lawe, that all Romaynes shuld have a particular priuilege in the same place, where their predecessours had done to the Romayn people any greatte seruyce. For this auniente custome they had priuilege, so that all they of the lygnage of Camille, were kepte and maynteyned in the hygh capytoll. And though the varietee of the tyme, the multitude of tyrantes, the ebullition and mouyng of cyuill warres were cause of the diminishing of the aunient polycie of Rome, and introduced in maner a lyfe not very good: yet for all that we rede not, that the preemynences of the Romaynes were broken, but yf it were in the tyme of Sylla, whan he made the vniuersall proscription agaynst the Martians. After the deathe of this cruelle Sylla, in exalting of hym selfe, Julius Cesar the pittefull, made dictatour of Rome, and chiefe of the Martians, annulled and vndyd all that Sylla hadde made, and broughte agayne into the auniente estate the common welthe.

What

What hath bene the conditions, the
 estate, pouertes, rycheffe, fauour, or dis-
 fauour of the ancestors of this Marke
 Aurelee Emperoure, we fynde not in
 the auncient histories, and yet it hath
 bene diligently serched for. The aun-
 cient Romayn historiens were not ac-
 customed to wyte the lynes of the Em-
 perours fathers, namely whan thei be
 made monarches, but the merites and
 graces that their children had, as for
 the auctoritee that thei had inherityng
 their fathers. Trouth it is, as saith
 Julius Capitolin, the father of Marke
 Aurelee the emperour, had bene pretour
 in exercyses, and capytayne in the fron-
 tiers, in the tyme of Traian the good,
 and Adriane the wyle, and Anthony
 the meke, emperours. This is confir-
 med by that the same Marc Aurelee
 wyrot (being at Rhodes) to a frend of his
 called Polion, that was at Rome, say-
 yng thus: Many thynges haue I felt a
 knowen frende Polion, by the absence
 of Rome, namely of that I se my selfe
 here alone in this yle; but as vertue ma-
 keth a stranger natural, and vyce four-
 neth naturall to a straunger. And as I
 haue bene .x. yeres here at Rhodes to
 rede

reade philosophye, I therby repute my
 selfe as naturall of this lande, and that
 hath caused me to forgete the pleasures
 of Rome, and it hath lerned me the ma-
 ners of the yle. And here I haue found
 many of my fathers frendes. Here was
 captrayne agaynst the Barbariens, to
 my lord Adrian, Anthoupe my father
 in lawe, the space of .xv. yeres. I lette
 the to witte, that the Rodyan people
 are curteis, and full of good graces. I
 wolde haue reade philosophye as long
 as my father hadde bene at Rhodes in
 warre, but I maie not: for Adrian my
 lord commaundeth me to go and kepe
 residence at Rome, howe be it euery ma-
 reioyseth to se his naturall countrey.
 ¶ So by the wordes of this letter it is
 to be beleued, that Anio Vero father to
 this emperour Marke, hadde applied
 the mooste parte of his lyfe in warre. It
 was not the custome lyghtly to truste a
 persone, to haue the office of a gouer-
 nour on the frontiers, without he had
 bene wel exercised in the seates of war.
 And as all the gloire of the Romaynes
 was to leaue after theim good renowne,
 the said Marke certaynely was
 taken for the mooste vertuous, and
 hadde

hadde greattest frendes in the Senate; whereby he trusted on the conqueste of the moste cruell ennemies: accordyng as the saide Sexto Cheronense histori-
 en saithe. The Romaines all though they hadde in theyr handes mooste per-
 rillous warres, yet they hadde in foure partes of the empire stronge and entier garnisons. That is to saie, in Byzance, the whiche is nowwe Constantinople, by reason of theim of the oriente: And En-
 gades, the whiche nowwe is called Cal-
 ler a citie of Spayne, for londe of theim of the weste: In the ryuer of Rhodano, whiche is nowwe the ryuer of Rhyne, for the Bermaynes: And in Collosse, whiche nowwe is called the Rhodes, bycause of the Barbariens. In the kalendes of
 Januarie, whanne the senate deuyded the offices, beyng pourueyed of a die-
 satour, and of two consules perelp. In-
 continente in the thyrde place they pro-
 uided for foure mooste excellent barons to defend the said foure Frontiers: The
 which semeth to be true, for the most fa-
 mous and renowned barons of thes-
 yong daies were capitaines in the said
 Frontiers. The great Pompeius was
 sent to the Bizances Constantinople
 The

AVREKIVS.

The worthye Scipio was sente to the Collofences and Rodpans: And the courageous Julius Cesar, was sente with þe Gadytaynes of Calix of Spaine and the stronge esteemed Marcus was sent to them of the cyuer of Ryne. This we sale bycause that Anio Nero father to Marc Aurele emperour, had bene prouoste and pierour in the offyces, and one of the capitaynes of the frontiers, whiche ought to be in Rome one of the persones mooste esteemed.

What maysters Marke Aurely hadde in his youth. Cap. ii.

VWE HAVE not by any autentick histories, from whens, whan, or howe, in what maner, or in what exerceyses, or with what persons, or in what lande was spent and consumed the mooste parte of the life of this good emperour. But to be shorte, Iulius Capitoline saith, that he had bene xlii. yere vnder the commaundemente of Adrian the emperour. So we be it contrary wise is founde by other historians, accordyng as saith Serto Theonense in his histone. It was not the

L.ii.

customs

MARCVS

custome of the Romaynes cronyclers,
to write the thynges done by these prin-
cis, before they were princis, but onely
of yong people, being in their yong age,
haupng great and highe magnificence,
and doyng greatte enterpryses. This
semethe to bee of trouthe, for Surtou
Tranquylle recounteth largely the fea-
refulle dedes and enterpryses doone by
Gaius Iul. Cesar in his yonge age, to
shewe to princis to come, howe it was
a great ambition, that they had to at-
teyne to the monarchy, and but of small
wytt and maturitee to kepe them selfe
therin. It is no newe thyng that men
gape for hygh and frayle thynges. And
the more higher the magnificence is,
the more lower they fele fortune. And
whan they were diligent to accomplish
their desyre, as much thought had they
to conserue their quietnes and reste. In
case thanne that Antio Vero, father to
Marke the Emperour, folowed the ex-
ercyse of warres, yet he put his sonne
in the waie to lerne science. For there
was a lawe schoole vsed and accus-
tomed, and well kepte in the Romayne
polycie, that euery citisens sonnes,
that enioyed the libertee of Rome,
and

AVRELIVS.

and had accomplisshed. x. yeres, should
not be suffered to goo by the stretes as
vacabundes. Nor it shulde not be sus-
ficed by the Censure, whoe gouerned
Rome, and dayly toke hede to the so-
faytes done therin, to suffer a chylde no
lengat than. x. yeres of his age to plaie
the childe. But fro thense forth the
father of the chylde shulde be bounde to
nouryshe hym out of the circuite of
Rome, or to lay a pledge, that his sonne
shulde do no folpes. Whan Rome tri-
umphed, and by their policie gouerned
all the worlde, it was certaynly a mer-
uaylous and monstrous thyng to see it
than, and noo lesse fearefulle vnto vs
nowe to here therof. There was at that
time in Rome. iiii. hundred thousand in-
habitanes, among whome there was
ii. hundred. M. yong people, that were
restrained and bydded frome their yong
plesures. The sonne of Cato was chasti-
sed, bicause he was wilfull and presump-
tuous. And also the brother of good
Cyna was banysshed, bicause he wente
pdelly as a vacabunde. Without that
Cicero begyleth vs in his booke of the
Romayne lawes, no Romayn ought to
straye abrod in þe stretes of Rome, but if

L.iii.

he

MARCVS

he bare in his hande the signe or token
of the office, wherby he lyued. To then-
tente that euery manne shoulde know,
that he lyued by his trauaile, and not
by the sweate of other men. This lawe
was kepte of euery personne. The em-
perour hadde borne before hym a bren-
nyng bande: The consulle an are of
armes, the priestis hath in maner of a
crosse: the Senatours a tonge in maner
of a crucible on theyr armes, the Cen-
sure a litle table, the tribunes a mace,
the centurions a sygne or baner, the o-
rators a booke, the gladiators a
swerde, the tayllours sheres, the smy-
thes a hammer, and in lyke wise of all
the other offices and craftes. We maye
knowe than by this that is saide, that
after that Marke Aurelye was borne
at Rome, his father in his yowthe had
taught him good nurture. And though
it soo were, that the begynnyng of his
younge age shulde be hyd frome vs: at
the least we are certaine, that the mid-
del age and ende of him was ryght glo-
rious. His father Anio Mero wold that
his son Marcus Aurelius shuld leaue
seates of armes, and folowe studi. And
surely it is to be thoughte, that it was
done

AVRELIVS.

done more by the valiantnesse of the fa-
ther than the cowardnesse of the sonne,
excepte the dedes of them that be deed
begyle us that ben alyue, and the cause
iudged by clere vnderstandynge, and
that we fynde mo sentences of diuers
sadde personnes, that there hath bene
but fewe that bene losse by wrytynges
and lernynge, y^e and a greatte meiny
fewer that haue had auantage by ar-
mes. Xenolus all booke, and serche
throughe all realmes, and finally they
shewe vs, that very fewe in their real-
mes, haue bene happy in armes, but
there haue bene many famous and re-
nowned by scripture and lerning. Take
here example, and se if it be true or
not that I saie. Had the Assyrians mo than
one kyng, that was Ninus, one Ligurge
among the Lacedemonians, the Egip-
tians one Ptholome, the Hebrewes one
Achabee, the Grekes one Hercules,
the Macedoniens one Alexander, the
Epirotiens one Pirthe, one Hannibal
the Carthaginens, and one Julius Ce-
sar amonge the Romaines? It is not
thus of lerned men: for if the Grekes
had one Homer, no lesse the Grekes
vaunteth them of the vii. Cages, whom

E lili

we

MARCVS

were belene more in their philosophie;
 than Homer in the warres of Troie.
 For as diffidle it is to fynde a trouth
 in Homere, as a lie in these sages. Sem-
 blably the Romaynes hadde not onely
 Cicero as ryght eloquent, but also they
 hadde Saluste, Lucan, Titus Livius,
 with a great companie of noble men,
 and wel approued, who have left right
 great credence in their scriptures in the
 sayng of trouth. What lost Cicero in
 the senate for blyng of innocences? And
 as we say of so small a nombre of Gree-
 kes and latynes, we make sale of the
 Affryens, Persians, Medes, Argines,
 Acayens, Deniens, Frenchemen, Brit-
 tons, Englyshemen, and Spanyardes.
 All the whiche nations without com-
 paryson haue of theim selfe left more
 memoire, and haue honoured their lan-
 des and countreys more by writtyng,
 than they that haue left legnes by ar-
 mes. Than lette vs leaue these straung-
 histories, and retourne to the pythe of
 oure emperour Marcus Aurelius, as
 Entrope recounteth. Accordyng as this
 excellent baron leered diuers sciences,
 so he had diuers maisters to teach him.
 He studied grammer with a mayster
 named

AURELIUS.

named Euphoris, musyk with an other
 named Gemino Comode, eloquence
 with Alexander a greke, in naturall
 philosophy he had to his maysters Co-
 mode Calcedonien an auncient baron,
 whiche expounded to hym Homer: and
 Serro Cheroneuse newelue to the great
 Plutarche. Also he studied in the la-
 ties, and Volusio Geciano was his
 mayster. This Emperoure esteemed to
 haue the knowlage of paynting, and to
 graue in woode and mettall, in erthe,
 and other sculptures, in whiche art his
 mayster was Diogenico, in his tyme a
 famous and renowned paynter. He
 traualled also too knowe, and serche
 what extended to the arte of Aggro-
 manoye. By occasion wherof he went
 openly to here Apolonio. And to then-
 tent that there shuld be nothyng vnler-
 ned of hym, he aboue all sciences sette
 his mynd to Cosmography, in the whi-
 che for his mayster, he toke Junio Ro-
 stico, that sythe wrote his lyfe, and Li-
 na Catule, the which wrot of his deatch;
 and the life of Comode his sonne. Of
 these noble and excellent barons, that
 flourished in those dayes, he was
 thought in vertues and sciences. Cicero

L.v.

Iamena

MARCVS

lamenteth the ancient policie of Rome,
 bycause that he sawe great losse in the
 common welthe than present, sayng in
 his rhetorik, that the auncient Romanes
 had alwaie regard to that parte,
 where they thought moste damage and
 perille shulde growe. There were. v.
 thynges amonge all other in Rome,
 wherunto they hadde euer a vigilante
 respecte, the whiche the senate neded
 not to care for, nor no law dispensed for
 theim: and these bene they, the preistis
 were honest, and the virgins Vestales
 ryght chaste: the penalties right iuste,
 the capitaines full valiaunt: They that
 taught yong chyl dren were vertuous.
 It was not permitted in Rome, that he
 that was a mayster in sciences, shulde
 bee discipule of vices.

What sciences Marcus the emperour
 lerned. And of a meruailous letter
 that he sent to Dolton. Ca. iii.



Illustrate saith, that it
 was demaunded of Dollo
 on who was the ryche
 man of the world: He an
 swered, it was he that had
 moſte

AVRELIUS.

moste wylsedome. He was demaunded
 agayne, who was moste poore: He an-
 swered, he that hadde leaste witte. Of
 trouth it was a worthy sentence of such
 a persone. The effect therof, we se daily
 by experyence, the wyle slydypng in dy-
 uers chaunces of fortune, reueleth him-
 selfe. The vnwitty personne in very
 smalle thynges touchyng his lyuyng,
 not greatly decayed, falleth downe.
 There is nothyng that is so losse, but
 that there is hope of recoueryng, if it be
 in the handes of a wyle man. And con-
 trary wyle, there is nothyng so assured,
 but the recouerance therof ought to be
 feared, if a foole haue the guydypng ther-
 of. It was axed of Xenophon the phi-
 losopher, whether he hadde rather to
 be folysch and a great lord, or to be wise
 and poore. He aunswered and sayd, I
 haue pittie of a ryche foole, and I haue
 enuye of a wyle man waxen poore. For
 if a wyle man haue but one foote, yet
 wyll he rype and kepe hym selfe frome
 fallynge: And if ye gyue an abbaye
 to a foole, yf by fortune he falle, he
 wyll neuer releue agayne. Ye make
 thynke that the father that dyeth and
 leaue the his sonne poore and wyle,
 that

MARCVS

that he leaueth to hym muche: And he
that leaueth his sonne riche and so-
lywe, I thynke he hathe lefte him no-
thyng. These thynges considered, Anto-
Wero, father of the emperour, as a fa-
ther that loued his sonne, hertely was
not content, to delpyer one maister to
his sonne, to make hym vertuous,
and to lerne one science, wherewith
he mighte occupie his vnderstandyng,
but he gaue him many maisters, that
refrayned hym frome vices, and com-
maunded, that he shoulde lerne ma-
ny sciences, to thentent that he shoulde
be the more besily exercised. Whan and
howe muche he trauailed to lerne, and
what sciences, and with whome, and
with what wyll he lerned, and what he
knewe, he wrote him selfe, beyng at A-
grippine, now called Coleine, to a frend
of his named Polion, as it foloweth.
¶ Frende Polion, thou maruaileste,
why that I leaue not to lerne newe
thynges at the ende of my dayes. He
that hathe but one meate to eate, and
can not eate thereof, he leneth it, and
perauenture it was holtsome for hym,
and eateth other thynges, that he seeth,
whiche maie bee hurtfull to hym. It

AVRELIUS.

is a greatte magnificence to a man, to
have dyuers sortes of meates: for if he
have no luste to one, that is good for
hym, he maie take of an other, that is
better. He that is wise, maie under-
stand me, without any more declaryng.
As in all artes, a man is content at the
laste: so at the laste, bee they never soo
sweete, thei turne to a wetinesse. He that
knoweth but one science, though he be
wise, yet he renneth in great daungier.
For beyng annoied therewith, he wyl oc-
cupy his life in other hurtful thinges.
The noble and worthy personnes, that
dyd caste clowthe a waie fro them, have
lesse of theim eternall memorie, not
wyllyng to lerne alonely one science,
to attempte thei? vnderstandyng with,
but also trauailed, to lerne diuers o-
ther, wherewith they sharpened their wit-
tes, to thentente that they shoulde not
be dulled and made blouce. In al natu-
rall thinges, nature is with right litell
content, but the spirite and vnderstan-
dyng, is not satisfied with many thyn-
ges. And sith þ vnderstanding is of such
conditio, that it is lost by liberty, and is
lightely encombred, with subtiltee it per-
sesh, with quicknes it knoweth, & with
ignorance.

M A R C V S.

ignorance it wasteth: it is necessarie, by
 tyme to remount to very high thinges,
 lesse it bowe vnto lowe and y^e thinges.
 All corporall domages, that chaunce to
 mortall meune, are by medicines hea-
 led, or by reason remedied, or by length
 of time cured, or els by death ended: The
 onely vnderstandyng, which is dashed
 in errorres, & depraued in malices, can
 nat be healed by medicines, nor redres-
 sed by reason, nor holpe by counsel. The
 aunciente philosophers, in the saide
 happie golden worlde, and golden age,
 dyd not al onli lerne one thing, wherby
 they mighte susteine theyr lyfe, and en-
 crease good fame: But they traunpled,
 to knowe all that was to bee knowen,
 and yet euer sought to knowe more.

¶ In the. lxxv. of the Olympiade, as
 dyuers personnes were assembled in
 the hygh mountayne Olympus, to ce-
 lebrate the playes, by fortune thither
 came a philosopher of Thebes, whiche
 had made al that euer he brought wth
 him. He made his showes, his rote, and
 sowed his merite, and had written his
 booke, and so of al other thinges. They
 that were there assembled, were aba-
 shed, and meruailled greatly, that one
 man

man coude do it. He was dyuers tymes
asked, wher he lerned so many thynges.
And he answered and said, The slouth
of man is the cause, that one arte is dy-
uided into dyuers artes. For he that
knoweth all artes together, muste
nedes knowe one alone. This philoso-
pher answered highly. And surely, thei
that harde hym, oughte to haue bene
as greatly ashamed of his wordes, as
the philosopher was of the baynglorie
of his apparel. Lette every man remem-
ber him selfe, and let no man blame the
shortnes of the tyme, nor wekenes of
our nature. For there is nothyng so
harde, but it is made softe: nor so high,
but it maie be taught: nor kept so close,
but it maie be sene: nor subtile, but it
maie be felt: nor so darke, but it maie be
lyghted: nor so profounde, but it maie be
discouered: nor so disseuered, but it maie
be gathered together: nor so losse, but
it maie be founde: nor so impossible, but
it maie be conserued, if with all our
hertes, we occupie our powers in good
exercyses, and apply our vnderstanding
in highe thynges. I deny not, but our
nature is littell worthe. But I knowe
well, that lesse worthe is our slouth-
fulnes

fildnes, I wolde demande of euill men,
 the whiche praye vs to bee good, and
 ageth counsell of vs, for they sensual
 litie, sayeng, that they be weyke and
 frayle, although they haue understan-
 ding, to inuent euils, and haue strength
 inough, to put them in effecte, and to
 perseuer therein, they neuer lacke con-
 fidence. The cause is, we call it natu-
 rall, for to do and commyt vices and
 miseries. And clouthe in vertue, we
 calle strange and weak, bicause of
 the werkes.

¶ Lette no man blame our nature, for
 being weak and faint; nor lay against
 the goddes, that they be cruell: for we
 haue no lesse ablenes to dooe wel, than
 needpuesse to dooe ill. Lette none saie, I
 wolde, and I can not withdraue mee
 frome vice. It is better saide, I maye,
 but I will not folowe vertue. I will
 not defame strange realmes, but I
 will speake of vs, that be latynes, and
 by them shalbesene, how they haue be-
 faile of malyce, and that they myght
 haue doone well. I wolde witte of the
 debtes, that Marcus Anthonius dyd
 with Cleopatra: The proscription,
 that Scilla made of the nobles of
 Rome;

AVRELIYS.

Rome: The contricion, that Catiline
invented agaynst his countrey: The
bloud, that was shedde for the cause of
Rompe, in the campe of Tharsale:
and the gret theft, that Julius Cesar
made of the treasor: the cruelties, that
he doyd to his mother: the Games,
that Caligula committed with his sister:
the treason that Brutus doyd to his fa-
ther Cailus: the Murtheres and cruel-
ties, that Domitian did to the virgins
vestales: the treasons that Julius Sa-
troclus vsed with the Syliciens and
Siculians: the rapes & murders that
Calpio the mariner made in the temples
and churches of Campayne. I woulde
knowe of such, as I haue reberced, and
diuers other, that I speake not of, that
applied them to so many Murtheres
nes, who leaured them (if they had
wold) to haue applied them selfe to do
other good dedes: All this I haue said
my felende Polion, to answere, to that
ye haue demaunded of me: That is, in
what sciences I haue wasted and con-
sumed my time. Wherefore it pleaseth
me, to tell it to the. And wero my fa-
ther, suffred me but eyght yere in my
scholdehode: and than, till I was ten

D

per

M A R C V S.

yere of age, I went to schole for to wylt
 and rede: and fro . x . yere to . xlii. I
 wente to studie with Euforion, and
 lerned grammer: fro . xlii. yere to . xlvii.
 I learned eloquence, with Alexander
 the greke, a famous oratour: fro that
 tyme to . xlii. yere, I was with Sexto
 Calcedon, lerning natural philosophy.
 Those yeres passed, I was at Rhodes,
 and studied humanitee, til I was . xlvii
 yere of age. And than I wente to Na-
 ples, where as I was three yere with
 Ploton a Greeke, learning greke letters.
 And I put my good wyll so muche ther-
 to, that I spake, and wrote greke more
 easly than latine. Than I returned to
 Rome, where the warre of Dace arose,
 to the whiche Adrian my lord sent me:
 And because that in armes, and in tyme
 of warre, I coulde cary no booke of sci-
 ence, I determyned me, to learn the sci-
 ence of musike with Hieronime Com-
 mode, to thentent that I myghte with
 swetenesse of instrumentes, restrain my
 bodie fro certayne vices, which as than
 in my house began to take force. All the
 rest of my life, thou knoweste, it hath
 been in bearyng of offyces in Rome, un-
 to the tyme that the weyghthe of the mo-
 narchie

warthy was layd on my shoulders. Whereto the emperour spake.

¶ Then by this letter written to his frende, it seemeth well, that withoute flouthe he passed his tyme. It is reaso, to beleue it holly, in that he hath said, For so excellent workes, that he made, and so high sentences, as he wrot, might not procede, but of a prudent man, and a very wise spirite.

¶ Howe for the wisdom of Marcus, many wise men flourished in his tyme. Cap. iiii.



As the life of the prince is but a whype, for al other to mote at, and as a glasse, wherein al the worlde dooeth beholde: so we se by experience, that wherunto a prince is inclined, the people trauallynge to folowe the same, haue not the discrecion, to eschewe the euill, and folowe the good. Certainely they muse no lesse vpon a counterfait fowl, made of fethers, than though it were of fleshe, and perlar

MARCVS.

the first flyghte, it lefeth the libertee,
and yet his hunger is not thereby quen-
ched. Whereby all the winges of liber-
tee are tourned to peine of seruage. It
is a greates offence, and an immortal in-
fame to a prynce, that in the steede of
giuynge his hand of good liuynge, to re-
lieue other, casteth backward his foote
of euill exaple, whereby all other ouer-
throwe. Than withoute comparifon,
greater is the wickednesse of the peo-
ple, than the negligence of the prynce.
For if one lyueth ill, and an other folo-
weth him, it is no meruaile: and though
there be but fewe, that folowe hym, it
is no newe thyng. Nor in case, that ma-
ny folowe hym, it is no feareful thyng
but al the hole to folow him, is a great
scandale. If the people were such, as
they ought to be, one shuld rather turne
from ill to good for many, than that
many for one shoulde tourne from good
to ill. Certainely euery man knoweth,
that though we be bounde to folow the
honest commaundementes of our pryn-
ces, yet we be not bound to folow their
ill liuynge. What shall we saie than, se-
pynge that now a daies, the delictes of
men are of so greate pryce, and the by-
gout

AVRELIVS.

out of their empire in so poore estimation
 that withoute shame, some dis-
 praisse theyr iuste commaundementes,
 and folowe their euill workes. O, yf
 the pynces had suche noumbre of good
 folke, that wold fulfyll their comman-
 dement, as thei haue great noumbre of
 wretches, that folowe their doinges, I
 sweare, that there shoulde be no nede of
 any prison for misdoers, or cartans for
 blasphemers, chaynes for sclaues, nor
 headdying blockes for traitours, nor
 kynes for aduoutters, nor galowes for
 theues. I wyl geue you example of all
 this, wherby ye shal see, that it is true,
 that I saie. If the kyng be inclined to
 hunte, all will be hunters: if he bee a
 player, all will plaie: yf he vse armes,
 all wil tourney: if he be an aduoutter,
 other will vse the same: yf he be fierse,
 other will be fierse: yf he be vertuous,
 all wyl be vertuous and balliant: if he
 be temperate and moderate, all wil ab-
 steyne: if he be hardy, all wil be bolde:
 if he be pitiefull, all wyl haue pitie: if
 he be wise, all will learne. And to the
 intent, that we blame not al onely the
 pynces of our daies, leat vs call to me-
 morie, the pynces of times past. Who

Will that

M A R C V S

that hath redde Sertus Cheronense, in
his booke called the diuers inclinaci
ons, that princes haue had, shal fynde
that Romulus, foundatour of Rome,
honored greatly grauers in stone: Num
ma Pompilius, his succellour, honou
red priestes: Paulus Emilius, marty
ners: Catus Cesar, goldsmithes: Scip
io the capitaynes: Augustus Octauis
us tennis plaiers: Calligula, cussieng:
Tiberius, haudes: cruell Nero, sword
plaiers: Claudius, writers: Scilla, ar
mourers: Marius, his compaignion;
grauers of Images: Vaspasian, good
paynters: Titus his eldest sonne, myn
strelles: Domitian his mighty brother,
crofsebowmakers: And aboue al other
our Marcus Aurelius emperour, wyse
men. The diuers inclinacions, that
princes had in diuers thynges, haue
made to vary the fauour and disfauour
of many princes, with their people.
And as the common people regardeth
more fauour, than iustice, such officers
are most fauoured; to whome princes
doth most incline. Al this we saye, to
shewe, howe that in the tyme of this
good emperour, wyse men were fauou
red. If the historians do not lye, sythe
the

AURELIUS.

the time of Cicero, the Roman (whiche was much more happie, to haue wile men to his frendes, than to inuent newe maner of meates and banquettes) vnto this Marcus Aurelius, haue passed. xlii. emperours, whiche were Julius, Octavius, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasianus, Titus, Domitianus, Nerva, Traianus, Adrianus, Antoninus, and Aurelius. And of al these, we can finde all onely but two that fauoured wyle men, that is to saie, Nerva and Traian. Al the other emperours were not onely disciples of lyets, but also were persecutours of the trouthe. This seemeth to be trewe: for Julius persecuted Cicero: Octavius banished Quide: Tiberius enpoisoned Calpurnio: Caligula caused to cut the throates of iiii. oratours together: Nero slew his maister Senec: Claudius sette his vnkle Lucan in prison: Otho hanged vpon Sarcoclus: Domitian banished al the oratours of Rome: And the more to shewe his cursednesse, when the wyle men, that were banished, wente out at one gate, there entered in at an other gate all vnthyrffes, the whiche by Traianus

D. liii.

tus

M A R C V S

his brother, had bene banished and
 exiled. And as I say of these few in
 nombre, I myght saye of many other.
 For certainly the wyle men were not
 thus entreated in the tyme of this good
 emperour Marcus: and that this is
 true, it seemeth by diuers excellent ba-
 rons, well learned in diuers sciences,
 that flourished in his tyme: Julius Ca-
 pito in recordeth of them as foloweth:
 Alexander a Greke, Station, potter,
 Euricius, Antius Macellon, Lantimus,
 Crodianus, Formus, Cornelius, Apo-
 lonius, Pius, Sertius, Chetonse, Jun-
 us, Kallius, Claudius Maximus, Li-
 na, Corulus, Claudius Seuerus, and
 the renoumed Diogenitus painter, and
 the well lerned lawiur Cuiusius Mac-
 rianus. At these wer in this emperours
 palats, and residente in his presence:
 And yet for all that, he had diuers o-
 ther wyle persons in Rome, and abrode
 in Italy. It was no meruayle, to se in
 those daies, the multitude of men that
 flourished in wisdom. There was
 no father, but yf he had two sonnes, he
 would set one of them to studie, and the
 other, accordyng to the Romayn lawe,
 shuld be set to warres. And if this em-
 perour

AVRELIVS.

petour will of any wyse yonge man, a-
boue all other he woulde fauour hym.

Of the emperour Marcus sonne
named Verissimus. Cap. v.

His emperour Marcus Au-
relus, had onely two son-
nes, as Herodian saythe.
The gretest and eldest, was
called Comode, and the yon-
gest was named Verissimus. He was
a fayre chyld of person, and right ver-
tuous of liuyng. With his beautie he
drew to hym the eyes of many, and
with his good inclinacions, he robbed
the vertes of al men. He was the hope
of the people, and the glorie of his fa-
thers age. And though the eldest was
prynce, yet the emperoure determyned,
that the last born, for his vertues, shoulde
inherit as the eldest. And he that was
first borne, for his demerites, shoulde
be disinherited. And as good despyres in
the best tyme fayle often by vnhappye
chance, this emperour begyn of lxx. ye-
res of age, and the son of .xvi. the glo-
ry of Rome, and hope of the father, the
lyfe of the sonne toke an ende. And as

D.v.

much

M A R C V S

muche was the death bewayled, as the
 life despyed. It was greate pitie, for
 the senate by reason therof saw not the
 emperour, nor the olde emperour for so-
 rowe sawe not the senate of a lōg space.
Come was ryght heaule, and the se-
 nate withdrew theim to the heyghe of
 the capitoll dyuers daies. And as the
 mystes and wyndes cause the leaues to
 falle that were grene in sommer, and
 the dedes of honoure constrayne vs to
 forget the myshapes of fortune, and as a
 man of highe linage, and of strong cou-
 rage, though he that sorowe remayne in
 his heart, and abideth locked therein,
 determyneth to cleanse the brāunches of
 sorowes that is outward, saynyng ioye
 and mythe outwardly, keepyng the so-
 rowe within: so this Marcus the empe-
 rour, as a man whose vyne freeth and
 dieth, wherein he had al his hope, con-
 tented hym with that was left behind.
 When his dere sonne Gerialmus was
 dead, he sent for the prince Comode his
 onely inheritor, whiche sith the child
 his brother was dead, entered not into
 the palais. And the emperoure seeng
 the proude and outrageous porte of his
 sonne Comode, bedewed his eyes with
 salte

AVRELIVS.

salte teares, remembryng the shame of
the one, and the death of the other.
The whiche perceiued by Faustine his
mother, whiche loued hym moste enty-
erly, commanded to haue her sonne a-
waie from the presence of his father.

What wise and auncient men
Marcus chose to instruct
his son. Cap. vi.



Though that the hearte
of this emperour was oc-
cupied with the death of
his child, yet for all that
he reysed his vnderstan-
dyng, to haue the prynce
his heire ryghte well
brought vp. For certainly prynces ben
suche, whan they come to mans estate
as they be brought vp in theyr tendre
youth. The father than knowyng the
fayle inclinacions of his chylde, not
correspondent to the good gouernance
of the Emppre, as a good emperoure
sent ouer all Italy for the most wyseste
persons in learyng, the moste famous
of senowme, and the most vertuous in
dedes. And as in diuers thynges the
infa-

M A R C V S

Infamie is greater in the pill doynge by
 malice, than the fault of the trespassor
 by weakenesse: so in dyuers other thin-
 ges, the common voice is more than the
 secret vertue. For the which occasion
 after the assembling of these wise men,
 the emperour commaunded to examine
 them, and to be enformed of the bloud
 of theyr predecessours, of the appoynte-
 mente in all their thynges, and of the
 treatie of their busynesse, and of the cre-
 dence amonge their neighbours, and of
 the purenesse of theyr lyues, and graui-
 tee of theyr persons, and finally of their
 sciences, that they coulde do, and this
 to be done in an order. The Astrologi-
 ens in astronomie, the musiciens in mu-
 syke, the oratours in their arte of rhet-
 oryke, And some in other sciences.
 And this not in one date, but in many,
 and not onely by information of other,
 but he wolde knowe it by his own pro-
 pre experience: Thus they were alle
 amplyed, soo that there was none left
 behynde. And as for perfect knowe-
 llege of thynges, wherein we haue gret
 affection, it behoueth to haue strange
 aduysse, clere vnderstandyng, and pro-
 pre experience: so the emperoure com-
 mands

AVRELIVS.

manded to chuse out of diuerse a feiw,
out of selue the wisest, and of the wisest
the most expert, most worthy, and most
scient. And accordig to the. vii. artes li-
berall there was assigned to euery science
two masters: so that the price was one,
and the masters. xiiii. This renoume
that the emperour sent ouer al, to haue
masters for his sonne the prynce, cau-
sed to come to hym mo wyse men from
straunge countreis, than of the marches
and neyghbours of Rome. The good
emperour considering that it was no rea-
son, that suche as came to his seruyce:
shoulde retourne myscontented, some
with iopfull wordes, some vpon certain
hope, and some with gyftes and pre-
sentes were dispatched, so that they
wer al pleased. And if this doing was
renowned by the report of the wise men,
it was no lesse vertuous by the wisdom
and worthynes of the emperour, to send
them home so wel content. For he sent
them awaie as wel satisfied that were
overcome, as they were contented that
ouercame them. And certainly they
had all reason, for some bare the swete
wordes and satisfiynge of the father:
and some abode there charged with the
enter

MARCVS

enterpryse of the sonne. Yet the good
emperour, not being contented with
this, commaunded that these maysters
shuld be lodged in his palais, and eate
in his presence, and accompany his per-
sone, to se if theyr lyfe were conforma-
ble to their science, and whether they
plesant and wel couched wordes, agre-
ed in effect with their workes. It was
a meruailous thing to see the study and
thought that the emperour had to re-
garde them, as wel in gopng as in see-
dyng:

Howe it chaunced to spue wise men,
wherfore they were put out of
the emperours house.

Capit. vii.



In the month of Sep-
tembre, the. xi. daie
thereof, in halowynge
the feast of the empe-
rours natiuitie, in the
same house where as
he was borne, in the
place of mount Celio,
As a trewand and foole dothe lyke him
selfe, and semblable as he is accus-
med

AVRELIVS.

med to do. And lyke as one dothe the
 semblable thynges and customes, that
 he is wonte to do: so the emperour set
 more his intencion on wyse men, than
 his eyes on fooles. He sawe fyue of
 them satte bearing the pauement with
 theyr feete, and arose from theyr pla-
 ces, clappynge theyr handes, speakinge
 lowde, and laughynge exceedyngly, the
 whiche was no lesse marked of the em-
 perour than beholden. When the fest
 was dooen, he called them a syde, and
 saied; Frendes lette abyde with me
 the pitfull goddes, and leate the good
 dedes go with you. I haue chosen you
 to the entent that fooles shoulde be con-
 uerted to wyse men, but I see wise men
 become fooles. Doe ye not know, that
 with the fyre of myxture golde is dra-
 wen, and by the lyghtnes of folkes wise
 men are proued? Certainly the fyne
 golde defendethe his qualitees in the
 quyk furnaces, and likewise the wise
 man sheweth his vertues among folles.
 Note ye not, that a foole can not be kno-
 wen amonge fooles, nor a wise man a-
 mong sage folke? Among wise men, the
 foole is made bright, and among fooles
 wise men doot shyne. Doe ye not know,
 what

NARCYS

What shame it is to make the disciples
of fooles, masters of prynces. Knowe
ye not, that of the contagious vnder-
standyng proceedeth the composition of
the bodie, the rest of the persone to bee
the temperance of the tonge? What pro-
fiterh it you to haue an experte tounge,
a quicke memory, a clere vnderstanding
greate science, profounde eloquence, or
a swete style, if with al these graces ye
haue a wyched wyll? Wherefore wyll
wyse men haue their wordes so distinct
and moderate, if their wordes be light?
And to the entent that it shuld not seme
to you that I speake of pleasure, I wyl
bryng to you an anythe lawe of Rome.
In the seuenth table of the lawes of our
fathers was wyrtten these wordes.
We commaunde, that a more greuous
chastisement be gyuen to the wyse man
for a lpyghte dede dooen openly, than to
a secrete murderer. Diuine lawe, and
iuste men that ordeined it. For the sim-
ple labourer sleaeth but one with his
knyfe in his angre, but he that is wyse
sleeth many with the euill example of
his luyng. Curiously I haue regar-
ded, that Rome beginneth to declyne,
when oure senate saylethe of meke and
wyse

Wise Senatours, and multiplieth with
these serpentines. The holy senate
was adorned with olde prudente per-
sons. And yet without teares, I say
at this houre it is full of tanglers and
lyers. Antiently in the schooles of
Grece was taught onely wordes, lea-
ving the worke: and than in Rome
was taughte to doe workes, and leaue
wordes. But nowe it is contrary, for
nowe in Grece the lyers and tanglers
are banysht, and hath sent them to
Rome: and Rome hath banysht and
sent the good wyse men into Grece: and
in this maner I desyre rather to be ba-
nyshed into Grece with wyse men, than
to abyde in Rome with foles. To the
praple of a good man (I sweare to you
my friendes) that whyles I was yong,
I sawe in the senate the philosophyes
Crisippus (brought up with good Tra-
ian) speake oftentimes: and he was so
swete in his wordes, that many tymes
he was harde more than thre houres to-
gyther. And he neuer spake word but
it was of eternall memorie. And when
soever he wente out of the senate I ne-
ver sawe him do dede, whereby he des-
erved to haue greuous peyne.

E

Cera

Certainly it was a meruailus thing
 to see and here the estimacion of his elo-
 quence, and the infamy of his person.
 All Rome was abashed of his bygh elo-
 quence: and al Rome and Italy were
 sclanderred with his wycked workes.
 The prosperitee of Rome dured. CCC.
 yere. And so longe Rome was Rome,
 as it had simplicitie in wordes, and gra-
 titee in workes. One thyng I shall
 shewe you, which is great confusion to
 them alpye, and greate admiracion to
 them that be dead, that of all the aunc-
 cient men I neuer redde a lyght word
 that they spake, nor an yuell dede that
 they did. What thing was seene than
 in that glorious worlde, but to reioyse
 in so gloriouse wyse men? And now at
 this date the world is so corrupted, by
 cause there is so many yonge corrupte,
 surely I haue greater enuye of theyr
 deddes than of our wytynges. Theyr
 fewe woordes and good workes haue
 lefte vs exauple of great admiracion.
 And the wyse men of this tyme teache
 vs openly, and wyte vs secretly doc-
 trines of perdition. Than by this that
 I haue saied, and by other exauples
 that I shall saie, ye may knowe what
 I meane

A V R E L I V S .

I meane. When the realme of Acape
 submytted his perillous hornes, and
 his proude heade, to the sweete obey-
 saunce of the empyre, they drew theint
 to this condicion, that they wold haue
 ben the hooftes of the garnysions of all
 Astate, and not disciples of the oratours
 of Rome. At that season there was in
 Rome a great lord, ambassadour of A-
 cape, temperate in wordes, and honest
 of liuyng, with a whyte head: He was
 enquired of the senate, why he was so
 cruel, to leade into his countrey for men
 of warre, pooze and couetous squyers,
 and leaue wyse men of greate hearte.
 He answered with such loue as he had
 to his countrey, and with such grauntie
 as longed to suche a persone, and also
 with suche hardynesse, as his offyce re-
 quired, sayng: O fathers conscriptes,
 O happie people, It is. ii. daies sith I
 ate any thyng, and .ii. daies sythe I
 slept, cursyng the fatal destenies of for-
 tune, that hath brought me into Italy,
 and lamentyng vnto the goddes, that
 keepe me in this lyfe, bycause my spy-
 rite is betwene the harde anu'elde and
 the unfortunate hammer, where as I
 do see al is as hard as the anueld, wher

M A R C V S.

on the hammer often strykerhe. The
 thyng most perillous amonge al perils,
 is to make election. Ye constrayne me
 to chose, and myne vnderstandyng can
 not attemp thereto: and the goddes do
 not shewe me, what I haue to chose.
 If I lead garrisons of men of armes, it
 shal be very noyfull to the families, if
 I byng aduocates, it shal be perillous
 for the common wealthe. Sorrowfull
 that I am, what shal I do? Oh heauy
 and unhappie realme, that abyderth for
 theim, and ye cruell, that comandeth
 theym. Than sythe it is thus, I deter-
 myne me to leade theim, that shal wast
 our goodes, and spende theim, rather
 than those that shoulde corrupte and
 breake our customes. For a legion and
 an armie by necessitee maie put to affli-
 ction and sorowe onely a people. But
 an oratoure or an aduocate by his ma-
 lyce, maie corrupt a hole realme. Than
 saied the emperour to these wyse men:
 Frendes, howe great is the credence of
 ignoraunte people, and losse of learned
 men? Wherfore shuld they of Beale ra-
 ther gyue meate to poore souldiours,
 men of armes, than to haue for theyr
 neyghbours oratours and wyse spea-
 kyng

AVRELIVS.

kyng aduocates? So whan this com-
 municaciō of the emperoz was ended,
 the fyue greate maysters went a waye
 with great shame, and the. ix. other sa-
 ried with great feare. In al this while
 it passed not two monethes after, that
 the prince Comode was come from his
 noices, where as he had lerned the do-
 ctrine of suchynge of brestes. Also he
 was but of tender age, and not of great
 deelycate vnderstandynge. The prince
 Comode was born in Rome on the mist
 Celio, and nourished at the gate of Bo-
 stie. He was more deerey beloued of
 Faustina his mother, thenne hated of
 Marcus Aurelius his father. And to
 speke with al due honour among them,
 the mother held her for certain to be the
 chyldes mother: and the childe ac-
 cording to his customes was
 muche like his mother: and
 the father was in dout,
 whether he wer his
 son, bycause he
 resembled
 but ly-
 tel
 in vertues to the
 father.

E. iiii. Howe

M A R C V S

Tholwe thempetour reasoned wltb
the maysters that shoulde learne
his sonne. Cap. viii.



A these matters being
past, the good empetor
for to esleme the thyng
that he had doone, and
to purucie for that he
had to do, he called a
side the nine wise men,
and saied to them, There is great fame
in Rome of that I haue done in the em-
pire, to do such diligence as to discouer
all the wyse men, and of the curiosities
that I haue shewed as in entertaynyng
of the best. Of trouth yf ye be wyse, ye
can not be sclaudered of any thyng.
The annoyance of il thynges commeth
of wysedome and vertue, but the admi-
racion of good thynges procedethe of
small vnderstanding or lesse experience.
The wyse person wyl suffre none admi-
racion. To shewe at the fyrste bronte
mociion in euery thyng, shewed to be con-
stante in nothyng. I haue made straitte
examinacion among you, for so oughte
suehe to passe as shulde be admytted to
Arait

AVRELIVS.

Strait amitees. Betwe amitees is wea-
 ry in thzee daies: and euer haue I seene
 and proued by experience, that friendes
 lyghtely taken, are lyghtely left again.
 I chaunced in companie of an auncient
 Romayne, Whiche was all whyte for
 age, and bycause he merited it, I called
 him father, and he for loue and nurture
 called me sonne, the which in case of ad-
 uenture enquryed many thynges of me,
 but I would make hym none answer.
 Than he said these wordes to me. Son
 beholde, In the lawe of frendeship, it is
 wrytten, that the friende in all thynges
 trusteth to his frende, fyrst regardynge
 who is his frend. Surely this counceyl
 was good. The curious man of armes
 (yf he will bye a horse) fyrste he wil see
 hym renne and assaied, or he speake of
 the sale of hym, yf he please hym not,
 though he myght haue him, for a lesse
 pryce, he wil not haue hym: yf he please
 him, what so euer the price is set, he wil
 not leaue hym. Than it is a lesul thing,
 that the beast be examined, and felte ere
 he be had into the stable. In lyke wise
 a man should be examyned, ere he be re-
 ceived into amitie. And if the hors that
 eateth but hey, strawe and otes, be left
 for

M A R C V S

for oue yll tatche, much more the frend,
 whiche is the intestyne of the heart, and
 oughte to kepe our secretes and affecti-
 ons, for dyuers fautes oughte not to be
 recepued into the same. There was a
 philosophyer named Arispo, the firste
 that was in the time of Silla and Ga-
 rius, who saied, that friendes oughte to
 be like good horses, That is to say, that
 they oughte to haue a lyttell heade by
 humble conuersacion, quicke of heryng,
 to the entente that they be ready whan
 they are called, a softe mouth, to thend
 that theyr tounge be temperate. The
 houe of the foote hard, to suffre trauail,
 and their handes open to dooe good de-
 des, their fete sure to perseuere in ami-
 tee, a baire colour for his good renoume.
 And finally the hors retourneth, that is
 the manual frende, And thereto is ioi-
 ned these wordes, That is, that he be
 without curbes, and bittes, and that he
 may go where as any fatall destinyes
 tourneth the bydell and reygne of for-
 tune. The goddes vnderstande me,
 though that men can not atteyn therto
 or comprise it. Returnyng than to the
 purpose, I will ye knowe, bycause I
 haue taken you for friendes, not to put
 you

AVRELIVS.

you awaie at length. And though that
cheretrees produceth theyr flowres in
februarie: we abyde not to haue the
cheries but in Maie. Friendes ought
to be as mulberies, that in suche tyme
produceth their berres, whiche is their
fruite, that they feare not the frostes of
Maie, as the bynies doe, nor the mystes
of Octobre, as the peches and quinces
do. I wyll not that they come, whan
the prosperitee is good, and goe awaie
whan the fortune is nought. For that
is no poynte of true friendes. As the
lies of wines causeth dronkardes to be
myt to the tauerne, lyke wyse aduersi-
tie dyspueth awaie saynt frendes out of
the house, bycause the seruyce is not ac-
ceptable, without the wyll be knownen
of hym that dothe it. Than holde you
sure of my cōtentacion, sith that I haue
it of your workes. I come nowe to the
effect of our purpose. I haue taken you
for to be maisters of this childe, and re-
garde, that I haue taken you fewe as-
mong many, to the ende that my sonne
shuld be noted amonge fewe. His nur-
ses at the gate of Hosty haue giuen him
two peres sucke of theyr milke, and his
mother Faustyne hath giuen him other

E. v.

two

MARCVS

two peres to spozte hym in the Salais,
 And I lyke a good father wil geue him
 xx. peres of chastisement. It sooze dis-
 pleaseh Faustyne his mother to leaue
 hym so sone, and I am sozy that I toke
 hym so late. It is no meruail, for these
 women with their lightnesse, and these
 chylbren with theyr small knowelage,
 occupy them selfe in thinges present:
 But worthy wyse men ought to thynke
 on that is passed, and also to ordein for
 that that is present, and with gret stu-
 dy to prouyde for the tyme to come. I
 thynke on euery daie in the yere, and of
 the daie that the goddes haue giuen
 me, & of the day that I giue vnto you.
 The goddes to me, and I to you dooe
 gyue him mortall to bee as a man, and
 than you to me, and I to the goddes do
 render him immortall to be wyse.

What will ye that I say more? Cer-
 tainely god hath made him manne a-
 monge men by the sowle, and I haue en-
 gendred hym a beaste amonge bestes by
 the fleshe, ye shall make hym a god a-
 monge goddes by shape. I ascertayne
 you of one thyng, which is, I haue not
 gyuen to my chylde but mortall fleshe,
 wherewith he shall take an ende of his
 life:

AVRELIVS.

lyfe : but ye shall gyue hym doctryne,
 wherewith his memorie shall neuer pe-
 rish. If his yowthe knewe the weake
 and faint fleshe that I haue giuen hym,
 and that his dull vnderstanding wolde
 reach to the wisdom that ye maie giue
 hym, he shold call you fathers, and me
 an yf stepfather. And thoughe he
 say not so, yet I confesse it, that is, that
 the naturalle fathers of the fleshe are
 stepfathers of noblenesse, lithe that we
 giue the naturalitee of theim subiect to
 so many mutabilittees, and bonde and
 captiue to so many myseries. For cer-
 tayne ye shall be iuste fathers to him, if
 as now ye can enable his fleshe in good
 customes, and than to byng his vnder-
 standyng to be occupied with hygh sci-
 ences. And sirs, repute it not smal, that
 I committe to your charge and arbitre-
 ment, that thing whiche prynces ought
 most to regard, that is, to see, to whom
 thei comit the nourishyng of their chil-
 dren. To be maisters of prynces in earth
 is to haue the offyce of the goddes that
 been in heauen. For they gouerne hym
 that hath cure to gouerne vs : Thei en-
 doctrine hym that shold teache vs, thei
 shew vnto him, that ought to shewe vs.

Chas.

M A R C V S

Chastise hym that ought to chastise vs,
and fynally they commaunde one, the
which afterward alone may command
all the worlde.

What wyll ye that I shal saie more?
For certayne they that haue the charge
of a prince, be the gouernal of the ship,
the standerd of an armie, the gouernace
of people, the gupde of waies, the mild
of kynges, the treasure of all, bycause
they haue amonge theyr handes, hym
that afterwarde oughte to gouerne all
the worlde. And furthermore to then-
tent that ye haue hym in more estimaci-
on, I wyll tell you, that in gyuing my
son vnto you, I do gyue you more, than
if I had giuen you a realme. The pure
and cleane liuing of the sonne aloue, is
the glorious fame of his father that is
deade. For of hym, that the sonne tru-
steth in his lyfe, dependeth the renown
of the father that is dead. Thus haue
ye had the goddes at wyl, and the bryt-
tell destines of Fortune happie to you,
as vnto this howe ye haue not watched
with childre of strangers. Fro hens-
forthe wake ye with the prince, whiche
is the profyte of all other. And take
good heed my frendes, that there is
great

AVRELIVS.

greater difference in byngyng vyppes of
prynces chyldren, than to teache yonge
boyes of the common people. The most
parte of them that come to schooles,
come for to learne to speake, but I deli-
uered not my sonne Comode to you to
learne hym to speake many wordes, but
for to sette hym in the waie to doo good
deedes. The glorie of folyshe fathers
is to see their chyldren vanquyshe other
in disputyng, but my glorie and ioye is
to see my son surmount other in vertue.
for the glorie of the Greekes was to
speake muche and to do lyttell, and the
glorie of the Romaines is to do muche
and to speake but lyttell.

Howe the maisters of prynces ought
to kepe theym from vyces.

Capitulo . ix.



Marcus Aurelius folow-
yng his purpouse ioyned
this to his foresaid wor-
des, and saied: Regarde
wel my frendes, and for-
get not, that I truste you
in myne honour, who am my sonnes fa-
ther: and of the studie of Comode my
sonne,

MARCVS . . .

sonne, and of the glory of Rome my naturall countrey, And of the solace and reste of Rome, whiche is my subiecte: Of the gouernance of Italy, which is your countrey. And aboue al thinges of the peace and tranquillitee of our common wealthe. Than he that is put in truste with suche administration of other, hath no cause to slepe. Nowe let vs come to moze particula[r] thinges. Regarde as nowe, what thyng is most conuenable for my sonne, whiche as a yong colte would go play in the grene meadowes, and noper some shalbe the helper to hym, and a thyng painful to kepe hym therfro. The fyrst thyng, wherof I pray you, is to gyue hym a stronge byrdell, and a sharpe bytte, to the entente that he be well mouthed, so that none take hym with lies. The greatest faute that can bee in manne of honestie, is to spare the trouthe, and not to be veritable. And the greatestte villany in a villayne is to be gyuen in largesse of lyes. Set good order vpon hym. Take hede to his handes, to the entente that he accustom him not to demaunde to play at the tables and dice with suche as be lost and naught.

The

AVRELIVS.

The greatest token, that a prince will
lose and destrote the empire, is whan in
his yonge age, he is knowen to be vici-
ous in plaie. The plaie is suche a vice,
that who so euer it biteth, it is like the
bitynge of a madde dogge, the whiche
rage endureth vnto deathe. I recom-
mende to you my chyldre, though he be
yonge, make hym sadde and moderate.
Certainly it is not so great a glory vn-
to a prince to haue the crowne on his
head, nor a chayne of golde aboute his
shoulders, nor the sceptre in his hand,
nor the great company and garde that
he hath aboute hym, as to shewe sad-
nesse from his youth. The open bone-
stee supplieth many fautes and debility-
tees. Spare not to cast on him a strong
chayne, and to tie hym faste, that he go
not to delites and vanitees. For an ef-
feminate persone neuer hath spirite to
any hie or noble dedes. I am greatly
satisfyed with that the teacher of Ne-
ro saied to his disciple, Though I wist
that god woulde pardon me, and that
men knewe no mysse of me, yet for the
villany of the fleshe, I wold not sinne
in the fleshe. Surely they were good
wordes, and yll bozne awaie of Nero.
Let

MARCVS

Heat not yet go the reyne. For if he see
 the yong mares, he wyl neygh or bray
 if he see tyme. The vyce of the fleshe
 in all tymes, in al ages, and in all esta-
 tes holdeth his season or course, it
 passe not in the grene age of childehoo,
 castyng of the reyne of reason, and stry-
 kyng with the spurres of the fleshe, and
 blowyng with the trompe of sensualitee.
 Takynge the byrdell in the terbe with a
 furious wyl, cunnyng thorough moun-
 taynes and woddes after the mare, he
 leaunge her goynge but softly and in
 the overtakynge muche lesse. And than
 afterward being therein delibereate, the
 bodie remaineth impotente, the vnder-
 standynge aclosed and blynded, the rea-
 son troubled, the good name losse, and
 yet neuerthelesse at the laste the fleshe
 remaineth fleshe. What remedy for
 this? I fynde none other, but that a
 greatte quicke fyre, couered and laden
 with earthe, dieth. And whan the vic-
 riousse manne is layed in his graue, he
 maketh an ende and make neuer correct
 hym selfe. Wherefore I adusse you to
 giue no place to this yonge chyld to be
 vicious. And in the chastysynge of him,
 gyue no respite, thoughe he be yonge,
 and

and my childe, and well loued and che-
 ryshed with his mother, and though he
 be the onely heire of the empyre. With
 children of a stranger crueltie is
 tyranny, but a mans stone chylde pette
 is the occasion of his losse in tyme to
 come. It is shewed vs by trees, howe
 we oughte to nouryshe our chyliden.
 Of trouth the chesta in trees bring forth
 the soft swete chest nut out of the sharp
 prickng and hard huske. And on the
 hard trees among the swete soft leaues,
 is nouryshe the harde nut. Applying
 this to our purpose, we haue seene a pi-
 tieful father, bring forth a cruel sonne,
 and a cruell father a pytiefull sonne.
 He that was learned amonge all other
 learned, and renoumed among al other
 renoumed, Ligurgus kyng of the Late-
 demoniens, in giuyng his lawes in his
 realme. I remembre to haue red there-
 in these woordes. We commaunde as
 hinges, and prae as men, that al thing
 be forgyuen to theim that bee olde and
 broken, and to theim that be yonge and
 lusty, to dissimule for a tyme, and no-
 thyng to be forgyuen to very yong chil-
 dren. In good sothe these were good
 wordes spoken of suche a persone, and
 semeth

MARCVS.

semeth reason. For it is reason that the
 horse, that hath runne and passed his
 course of carpage, shoulde rest hym.
 And who that hath passed rightwous-
 ly, it is Justice that he be suffered in rest.
 And the chylde that wyl passe reason,
 ought to be reformed. Cause him to be
 alwayes occupied in vertuous actes.
 For if the vnderstanding be dulled, and
 the bodie slouthfull in suche age, with
 gret difficultee will thei drawe to thin-
 ges that be straunge to thei delectaci-
 ons, bicause that the lightnesse is in the
 head, and reason vnder the eyes. His
 youthe wyl demaunde you some recre-
 ation, whiche ye shal consyder, so it be
 not often nor to seldome. First that it be
 by reason, Secondly that thei be taken
 in noble exercyses. Take hede, for I
 giue not my son vnto you, that ye shuld
 geue hym recreation, but onely for to
 teache hym.

The henne haupng her egges vnder
 her wynges, in that season goeth not a-
 brode in the yardes, and though the eg-
 ges bee not her owne, yet she hatcheth
 theim, as yf they were her owne. For
 this cause at this tyme in Rome of a
 Disciples. lxxx. cometh forth with-
 out

AVRELIVS.

out doctryne, for yf their maisters waite
two houres in doctryne with them, thei
lese with them. xx. houres in mockery.
And therof it is, that of the small gra-
uitee of the maister, springeth greatte
boldnes and litel shame in the disciple.
Beleue me frendes, that the teachers to
princes, and maysters to disciples, pro-
fitemore in one day with good exam-
ples, than in a yere with many lessons.
My sonne seying you drawe to vertues,
will drawe to the same: if he se you stu-
die, he wil studie: if he see you peassible,
he wyl be still: he seying you temperate
in feadyng, wyl eate but lyttell: seying
you shamefast, he wyl feare you: seying
you restfull, he wyl reste: and yf ye doe
contrary, he wyl doe contrarie. This
surely is true: for the ancient men ones-
ly with the euyl that they se, eyther do
thei corrupte theyr bodies, or sclaunder
theyr owne iugementes, as chyldren do,
that can say nothing but that thei here,
nor do nothyng but that thei see. I wil
also that the prince my sonne learn the
vii. artes lyberall. For I haue taken
many of you, to the intent that ye shulde
teache hym muche. And yf at the last
we shuld be sorowfull, bycause he hath

F. ii, not

M A R C V S.

not learned al we shall not be sorow, if he knowe muche, nor thynke his tyme yll spent, nor be begyled in sayng, that he knoweth enough of that so yonge a child shuld haue to gouerne and rule the empire. A very philosopher after the law of linnage, ought to haue spech at place and time conuenient, to fight in the feld and to speake in the senate. If myne owne remembraunce begyle me not, among mine antiquitees I haue brought a stone out of Grece, the which Pythagoras the philosopher held at the gates of his schole, wherein was written with his own handes, these wordes: He that knoweth not that he ought to know, is a brute beast among men: He that knoweth no more, than he hath neede of, is a manne among brute beastes: He that knoweth all, that maie bee known, is a god among men. O most hyghe wordes, Glorious is the hande that wrote them, the whiche not at the gates, as they wer than, ought to be written, but within mens breastes they shoulde bee paynted and grauen. Our forefathers toke the laste sentence of this philosopher, and the fyrste rebuke abydethe to vs theyr last chyldren. For certayne among

AVRELIVS.

mong the Grekes and Lacedemoniens
was attayned as muche fame by their
philosophers and coquestes, as by their
wittynge, which they haue lefte vs.
And our former emperours gat no lesse
loue in their empyre by their profounde
eloquence, than thei fered al the world
by their noble triumphes. For a profe
whereof, beholde Iulius Cesar, which
beyng in the middel of his campe, with
his lyfte hande wold holde his speare,
and his penne in his ryght hand. As he
neuer left of his armour, but forthwith
he toke his bookes. We muste not lay
excuses, sayng with theim that be ige-
norauante, that the lyberall artes are to
hpe, and the tyme that wee haue very
shorte. For certayne the diligence of
men at times past, reponeth our slouth
at this daie. One thyng I do se, that in
a shorte whyle we learne all yll, but in
a long season we can not lern goodnes.
Wyll ye se, what is our fortunes and
destinies, and in what thought the god-
des do kepe vs, that for to doe one good
dede we lacke tyme, and for to do many
shredde tournes, wee haue to muche
tyme. I wyll saie no more, but that I
woulde, my chyldre shoulde be nourys-

MARCVS

shed in suche wyse, that he shuld learne
the feare of god, the science of philoso-
phers; the vertues of auncyente Ro-
maynes, the quyetnesse of you his mai-
sters, and the goodnesse of al them that
be good, as he hath taken of me to be
the heyre of the empyre. I proteste to
the immortal goddes, to whom I trust
for to go, and proteste to the hygh capi-
toll, where my bones shalbe brent, that
neyther home nowe in my life, nor the
heauenus in tyme to come shal curse me
after my deathe, if by ill linyng my son
shoulde lese the common wealthe, yf by
your smal chastisement, ye shalbe cause
of the losse of the empire.

Thewe the emperour Marcua nou-
rished the pryncesses his daugh-
ters. **Capitulo. x.**



Marcus Aurelius the
emperour had two
sounes, that is to wit
the prince Commode
and Verissime; He
had foure daughters
by Faustine his wife:
Legitimate and hey-
res

res of the Empire. This emperor was
 exceeding diligent for to nourish his
 daughters. As sone as any of them
 were borne, forthwith they were put to
 nours into some ferme without Rome;
 He wolde neuer suffer any of his chyl-
 dyne, sonnes nor daughters to be nou-
 rished within the walles of Rome. Nor
 consent, that they shulde sucke the bre-
 stes of delicate women. He hated deli-
 cate and gaye nourses, and they that
 were laborous homely and holsome he
 loved, and to them and none other he
 betok his children to nourish, and he
 wolde neuer agree, that they shulde be
 brought home to his house.

He was wonte to saie in his sport-
 ing, I haue more a doe to content these
 nourses, than to marre my dought-
 ers. Homere sheweth, that in Grece
 there dyed Arthemio, that was kynge
 of Argine, without any sonne to inher-
 yte: and the nurse, that had noursed
 hym, with all her myght demaun-
 ded the realme for a son of hers, whi-
 che had sucked of the same mylke, that
 the saied king had done, allegyng, that
 they were bothe nourished toge-
 ther, and sucked one mylke, that they

¶ IIII

both

M A R C V S

bothe shulde inherite one realme. This
 sayd Homere, to reprove the nouellies
 of Grece, whiche toke more presump-
 tion for nourysshynge of princes, than
 queenes dyd in bearyng of them. Ther-
 fore this noble Marcus Aurelius empe-
 rour, wolde not that his daughters al-
 onely shuld sucche growe and rude miske
 but he wolde not agree, that any reue-
 rence honour, or seruice shoulde be done
 vnto them, as it belongeth to the chyl-
 dren of so hyghe princes to bee dooen,
 and as the custome is to be dooen. On a
 day as the sayd emperour was at supper
 a foole named Galindo, at whose wor-
 des the emperour often toke pleasure,
 sayed: Syr yesterdaie I came from
 Salon, and fro the gate of Hostie, and
 there I sawe the emperours chyldrenne
 goe lyke labourers, and I to here in thy
 house labourers children go like empe-
 rours: Telle me, why doe ye dissimule
 as a wyle manne, for I that am but a
 foole, vnderstandeth it not. The empe-
 rour answered: O Galindo, because
 that yet at this tyme, Rome is not
 Rome, al though through al the world
 it be renoumed Rome. In my selfe I
 find far more assurance, that my chil-
 dren

AVRELIVS.

then beginne lyke poore labourers, and
 ende as ryche emperours, than to
 begyn as ryche emperours, and end as
 poore squyers. Doest not thou knowe
 why Italy is nowe lost? They woulde
 haue their children to be wantonly and
 delicately nourished, and wil not suffre
 them to lye in trauayle, and to leaue
 them hepyes poore and neddy, and them
 selfe to ende in great perill. This an-
 swere was so excellent in fame, that it
 was euer take for a prouerbe in Rome.
 Whan this emperours daughters were
 of two yere olde, incontinent he prou-
 ded women and maystresses for to re-
 che them. Sertus Cheroneuse saith,
 that he searched amonge the auuiente
 matrones of Rome, whiche were clea-
 nest of life, moste esteemed of good fame,
 of noblenesse of bloudde, of sadde wit,
 and that had ben most vled in bringing
 vp of prynces chylidren. This emperour
 was so thoughtfull in the orderpng and
 teachyng of his chylidren, that he wold
 haue no woman, but yf she were of .l.
 yere of age at the leaste, and .x. yere a
 maydome, and that she had nourished a
 C. chylidren, daughters of senatours.
 Imaginypng, that she that had medled

F.b.

in so

M A R C V S

in so many thinges of other mens, shuld
not be ignorant in her own. After that
he had prouyded these maystresses, he
caused his doughters to be broughte to
their houses, and there gaue them their
charge. And from the byrthe of any of
his doughters, he wold neuer consent
that they shoulde come into his palais,
till they shoulde haue housbandes. It
chaunced, that Faustine the emperesse
chylde a doughter, and she beyng cer-
tified, that it was lyke her, and very
fayre, moued with a soft heart of wo-
manhead, and with a motherly affecti-
on praied the emperour, that the saied
chylde myghte be noursched in her pre-
sence, for the every man saied, the chylde
was so fayre and so lyke vnto theim.
The emperour answered and saied,
Faustine, for those thinges that al other
haue saied to you, dothe it beseme you
to demand this of me? But I that haue
red in this case, and in other cases, haue
seene, in no maner I oughte to condescende
thereto. Do you not knowe, that
the tyme, that the doughter is noursched
in the house, the father is charged
with thoughte, the mother with wanton
flatterynge, enuy in the brethren,
bold,

AVRELIVS.

boldenesse in the doughter, and folp in
the nourice. I wolde wite of you, yf
she were nourished in the house, what
profyteth it, yf her maystresse teach her
salueesse and honestie with her wordes:
and we entyce her to lewdenesse, with
our workes and deedes? what profy-
teth it, if the doughter deserue chastise-
ment, and the mother flatter and make
her wanton? More reason it wer, that
your doughter should folowe the good
doynges of you, that are her mother,
than the wordes of the strange widow,
that is her maistres. Marke wel Fau-
stine, if ye ought to reioyce at her chyl-
dishe toies. Remembre, that the plea-
sure of younge chyliden is but childes
trifles. But if you nourished them not
wel, as the pleasures wer ioyful whan
they wer yonge, so whan they be olde, to
refrayne them, shall be greater displea-
sure. Therefore, if you be vertuous, with-
drawe their iappng trifles, as now for
them that shall bee vertuous. I wyl
tell you one thyng, I woulde rather my
doughters in myne absence, shoulde be
disciples to vertues, than to be maistres
in lewdenesse in my presence. And
sith it is so, I desire you, require it not

of

of

M A R C V S

of me. And I desire you that it be not
so. I am importune on you, that ye be
not importunate on me. I pray you that
you praye not me. Or els I commaund
you, that you demaunde it no more of
me. This harde answer, of the father,
ceased the importunitie and pitiful re-
quest of the mother. Thus Faustine, al
fearefull, seying the father within the
walles of Rome, durste not go see her
doughter withoute, but as pryncely as
she myght.

Chowe Marcus the emperour byd
chose and proued his sonnes in
lawe. Capit. xi.



Likewise as Marcus
Aurelius the emperour
surmounted in ver-
tues all mortall men,
that dyed, so for cer-
tain in mariage of his
doughters he seemed
to be kinne to the god-
des that euer lyue: by the grace and
gyfte of god, or by his fortune, he was
as happie in vertuous sonnes in lawe,
as greatly importunate of dyschonest
dough-

AVRELIVS.

doughters. After the death of the good olde man, with the smalle thoughte of the prince his sonne in his gouernance, and vngoodly fame of his doughters in their liuyng, it seemed to haue made an ende of the glorious memorie of the father, but if it were by the soueraigne goodnesse of his sonnes in lawe, that he hadde chose by his life tyme. It is daily seene, that the losse of the father by euill children, is wonne by vertuose sonnes in lawe. Than Marcus Aurelius, in choosynge housbandes for his doughters, he toke not of dyuers, that the vanitie of the worlde offered hym: but of a fewe, that of many folkes were esteemed to bee of good behauiour, and that to his semyng were suche in deede. And as in maryages al the errour is to couete goodes that be in the purse, and not to examine the personne that is broughte to the house, He regardynge this, marryed not his doughters to straunge kynges, but to naturall borne Senatours, not to suche as descended from highe linnage, as were the Sipi- ons, Fabzicians, and Torquates: but to suche that with their vertues replesd newely good lynnages: For he married
them

theim not to suche as were presumptu-
 ouse of the prowes and deedes of theyr
 predeceffours: but to them that resplen-
 dyshed by the deedes of their own per-
 sons. For of trouth he chose none that
 were very ryche, but such as were ver-
 tuouse: nor suche as were sone moued,
 but suche as were quiete: not the highe
 mynded: but to the moderate, that wer
 no boasters, but shamesfaste: no bablers
 but small speakers: no quarellers, but
 sufferers: not to presumptuouse, but to
 them that wer meke: not to hastie men,
 but to them that were pacient: not to
 theym that were esteemed amonge the
 commons, but vnto them that deserved
 laude amonge wyse men. In this ma-
 ner he trusted no persone, for he married
 not his doughters to suche as wer prai-
 sed a facce of: but to them that of long
 tyme had been proued nerehande. In
 good faith herein his reaso was good.
 For in the thyng that toucheth a mans
 honoure, he that is wyse oughte not to
 trust in the onely informacion of stran-
 gers. For he is not wise that is so har-
 dy to do all thinges by his own seming
 and opynion. And he is but a simple per-
 sone, that will dooe all thyng after the
 opti-

opinion of Traungers. And in these
pointes the emperour Marcus hadde a
good respecte to keepe theym: In wal-
kyng good rest, In speakyng great elo-
quence, in eatyng good temperaunce:
In aunsweryng great subtiltee, In his
sentences and determinations gret gra-
uitee. And therfore in this case of ma-
riage he was ful of grauitie, til he was
therein determyned. And this onely
came not of him but of other, whan they
came to prae hym. It befell that in a
feaste of the god Janus, the emperour
goynge to the campe of Mars, vppon a
lusty horse systerle and flingyng, he met
so rudely with a trumpettour, that cour-
sed as a knyght vpon a horse, that with
the stroke of metyng, the trumpettour
was ouerthrowe with his hors, so that
he was slayn, and the emperours horse
legge broken, and his owne foote hurt,
and his arme out of ioynt, So great-
ly encreaced his hurte, that he was in
peril, Italy in heaupnes, and al Rome
was in doubte of his lyfe.
And bicause a fewe daies afore that he
had comunicacion of a marriage for his
thyrd daughter, named Matrina, for
the determinacion that he shoulde haue
made

MARCVS

made the same date, greate sulte was made to hym. But for the great pepne of his arme, and the bloudd that was congeled in his bodie, and the anguise that was at his harte, as for the demaunde that was offered hym, he deferred the aunswere tyll an other daye. The whiche day comen, in open presence he saied in this maner.

What the emperour Marcus saied to the father of a yonge man that wold mary one of his daughters. Cap. xii.



Sometimes I haue sent in other, and haue proued by experience, that the small consideration passed, and the great acceleration in busynesses now presente, maketh greate inconueniences in tyme to come, ones that at that poynte the thyng be commytted to the vertue of some wyse persone rather than to his owne sole opinion. Neuer thelesse in the case of mariage, though the father be wyse, yet without the opinion of another,

ther, he oughte not to determine hym
 lyghtely: for enuious fortune, though he
 shewe her selfe somewhat frowarde
 in all thynges, yet in this case of mary-
 age, she ouerthroteth moze than in all
 the other. He that wyll speke of mary-
 age, ought to entre into his owne secret-
 nes, and to thynke profoundly thereon,
 as of a thyng that all his welthe ly-
 eth in, his credence, his lyfe, his honour
 his good fame, the reste of his owne
 personne and his fleshe, whiche is his
 child. I am of opinion, that yf all wyse
 men were molten in a furnayes, they
 coulde not gyue one good counsell to
 make a matiage. And wolde ye that I,
 whiche am synple, shulde do it lyghte-
 ly by my selfe? Truly therein behoueth
 right and sadde counsell. For ones fal-
 len into the peryll thereof, none maye
 haue remedye with oute greater peryll.
 The renowned Martinus Porcius,
 whose liuing was a mirrour in his days,
 and his wordes and counsels remayne
 for a remembrance, said openly in the
 senate: O noble fathers and happie pe-
 ople, by the decrees openly proclaimed
 in places accustomed, I knowe that in
 a counsell and senate ye ordeyned three
 things

MARCVS.

thynges, that is, ye vndertoke to make
a newe warre agaynste the Parthes, to
continue the enmittee against the Pen-
ens, and to marie. v. C. matrones of
Rome, to. v. C. knyghtes of Mauri-
tanie. And certainly I am abashed,
that among wyse men so highe affayres
shoulde be so sone and sodainly conclu-
ded and determined. To satisfie myne
vnderstandyng, and for the good wyll
that I owe to the countrey, I shall say
one worde, that is, to begynne warre,
and to pursue hatred and ill wyll, and
to conclud mariages, In these causes
a man ought to aske counsaill of all the
men of the worlde, and all the goddes
ought to correcte and amende it. And
x. c. counsaillynge wolde be holden
vpon eche of these thynges. These wor-
des were woorthy of great recommen-
dacion. For one thyng by diuerse oppo-
nions ought to be determined: But ma-
ny thynges by one opinion ought not to
be determyned. And yf this bee for all
thynges, it serueth then most specpal in
mariages. My friendes, ye say, that
he that offereth hym to bee my sonne in
lawe, is greatly desyred loued and wel
named amonge the common people.

To sell such marchandise, sette it
 not in so pill & tewe. The credence of
 an honest man lieth not among the com-
 mon voide of the people, but among phi-
 losophers: not among many, but among
 fewe, not among how many, but what
 they bee. Ye knowe your selfe, that as
 this howe all that the commons thinke
 is but a vayne thyng: that thei praise is
 false: that thei condemne is good, that
 thei approue, is nought, that thei allow
 is shamefull, and finally all that they
 laude, is but folle. Thei praising be-
 gynneth with lightnes, their folowing
 withoute order: and it endeth with fu-
 ries. O howe many haue I seene in Ita-
 ly like the lies of wyne caste out of the
 fenare, and after put as syckiondes of
 sauerne in Rome, by whose opinions
 the common wealthe is gouerned, and
 with great lightnesse men put doونه,
 and with no lesse lightnesse exalted a-
 gayne. Beholde here, that the woorkes
 of the peple are holden in mockage with
 wyse men: and that that is agreed a-
 mong them, is esteemed but for vanities
 with wyse men. For that that is meale
 with philosophers, is eaten but for
 iuanie and chaffe with symple folke.

AVREDIVS.

Sayne. Certainly there is great sus-
 pection to see hym among wise me, that
 is allowed of al soles. And the reason
 thereof is, that the commons lyghely
 loue none but men that with malice re-
 frayneth theim that bee verruous, and
 letteth the raine sylppe to them that be
 vicious. Truly wise men haue hym
 as suspecte that the commons despyte,
 whiche will not be displeased with his
 ill doynges. O howe often times doth
 the goddes permit the ambitious man
 in honours, that procureth to do ill ma-
 ny daies without Justice, and doth not
 behold the sodain hole losse thereof with
 shame? Than take this woorde of me,
 that in the multitude of men there are
 fewe to be prayled, and many to be re-
 pined.

Howe a son in lawe ought to be well
 examined ere he be accepted to his
 purpose. Capit. xiii.



Nowe to come to our parti-
 cular purpose. Ye amonge
 you do prayse this younge
 man, and if his workes be
 as your wordes, ye should

Will

not

MARCVS

not onely saie, that he hath merited to
be my son in lawe, but rather merited
to be only inheritor of the hole empire.
And therefore I woulde witte of you,
whereof you can prayse this your kins-
man, that there be no contraritee bee-
twene his workes and your wordes.
If he be rusticall, it abateth hym sore:
if he be of high blud, he wil be presump-
tuous: if he be ryche, he wyll gyue him
to viciousnesse: yf he be poore, he wyll
be couetous, if he be valiant, he wil be
ouerholde: if he be a coward, he is de-
famed: if he be a great speaker, he shall
be a lyer: if he be to lyttell a speaker: he
shal be noted as vnwise: yf he be fayre,
he wil be coueted: if he be foul, he wil be
sclousse. Than if he be quitte of al these,
I sweare to you, that I wyll gyue him
my doughter Matrine with al my hert.
I do not sai this vnto you, bicause I sup-
pose any yll in your kynseman: but so
thentent that ye shoulde thinke, that I
say it accordyng to my naturalitee.
And than sith I saie it not against your
credence, for the knowelage that ye
haue of him, mistake not my suspicion,
sith that I am hole ignoraunte of this
younge mans liuyng. And I will not,
that

AVRELIVS.

that ye shoulde thynke, that the chylde
my daughter, that hath bene brought
up in so gret vertue in my palais, shuld
be married to this younge man for the
onely sake that he hath amonge the
people. O howe often haue I sene in
oure tyme nowe, and haue redde of the
worlde passed, the whiche as nowe by
commandement of the goddes, at an
other tyme by theyr ill workes haue de-
serued it, at an other tyme by their so-
rowfull destinies haue permytted it,
weenyng for to bryng sonnes in laboe in
to theyr howse, haue brought in a hell.
In steede of wyse and faire daughters,
haue recovered adders. And sekynge
sonnes, haue found basyliske serpentes:
In bryng of bloudde, poison deliuered:
In sekynge friendes, they haue found en-
emies: In demaundyng honoꝝ, shame
hath be gyuen: and finally in marryng
theyr children, weenyng to haue lyued
merely, the sorowfull fathers haue had
euill lyfe and a worse deathe. And in
case that suche ought to be moued more
of them that be ioyous, than they that
been sorow, of them that been ioyous, as
well ought we to approue the iuste cha-
stisement of the iuste goddes, by the vn-

M A R C V S

iuste woꝝkes dooen to iuste men. For he
deserueth gret chastisement, that with
featefull hardinesse as a foole determi-
neth him selte in high and difficult thin-
ges with sodayn counsaile. And there-
fore my friendes, yf ye be vertuous, be
not abashed of that that I saie, nor
take the examinacion that I make in a
sclaunder: If I take this yongeman
to be my sonne, to be son in law to Fau-
stine my wyfe, husbande to my dought-
er Matrine, brother to Comodus the
prynce, felowe to theim of the senate,
kynseman to my kynsefolke, and lord
of my seruantes: It is reason, that su-
che a robe ought well to bee regarded,
sythe that so many persons must weare
the liuerate thereof. The garment that
so many persons must weare, muste bee
wysely cutte, to contente theim al.

We see naturally many thynges noisful
to vs, if it be nere vs, and yet not doma-
geable to vs ferre of. The sonne with
his shynynge beames dooeth parche the
fleshe of the people of Ethiopie, be cause
it is nere vnto them: and contrary wise
it dooeth no grete to their persons that
inhabite in the ende of Europe: for by
cause it toucheth theim a farre of.

There

AVRELIVS.

There haue been dyuers sonnes of
Rome, whiche beynge in strange coun-
treis, haue doen great profyt to the co-
mon welth, and no lesse famed through
out the woylde, whiche after they were
retourned to their owne houses, haue
spilt more bloudde of innocentes, than
they had done before of the Barbariks.
And that it is sothe demaunde of Yul-
ius Cesar, of Pompeius, of Silla, of
Marius, of Cassius, of Catilina, and of
Lypulus, of Octavius, and Marcus
Antonius, of Caligula, and of Nero,
of Othius, and Domicianus.

And as I saie of so small a nombie of
bastarde chyldren that helde Rome,
I maye say of dyuers other tyrantes
broughte vp in Italy. Beloue me in one
thing, Al that is agreeable to vs abrode,
agreeth not to vs yf we bryng them in
to the house. For there goth many thin-
ges betwene the entreating of a man in
wordes, and to be long conuersant with
hym in workes. Ittel nedeth humaine
ignorance for to begyle an other, and
yet lesse to be begyled of many an other.
With a meke bysage swete woordes in
the toungue, good helyperacion in the
person, temperance in the word, euer

B.b. one

MARCVS

one male begyle an other now a daies,
and by threwhdenesse and malice, is be-
gyled hym selfe. I saie to you, I being
a yonge man knew the famous oratour
Taurin propose diuers tymes in the se-
nate: And on a daie he spake for a Ro-
main matron, whiche should haue ma-
ried an honeste doughter of hers to a
maister of horses, by seming a Romain,
and not very well appoynted: And a-
monge other wordes he saied: O noble
fathers, O happy people, commaund not
that thyng, that afterwarde ye would
were not commanded. An ill mariage
is lyke as he that shootethe a pellet of
duste, it hurteth hym that it toucheth,
and blynderth theim that stand nerre.
Sorbely these were his wordes, and the
comparison well vnderstanden, contai-
neth in it sentences of grauitee. It is
manifest to all men, that an ill sonne in
lawe is the death of the wyfe that hath
hym, shame to the friendes that procu-
red it, and at the laste an ylend for him
selfe, and for his father that offered it.
Than by all these thynges that I haue
said, ye may vnderstand what I thinke
in this marpage. His saynges thus
ended, the Senate was greatly edified
ther-

AVRELIVS.

therwith, and the knightes hynselfolke
to this yong man, greatly abashed: and
Faustine the emperesse soze confused, for
by her introduction the matter was
moued. And howe this marriage failed,
the hystoriens write not, whom we haue
folowed in this worke.

Those marke the emperour fauou-
red al noble exerceples, and ha-
red frewandes and fooles.

Capitulo. xliii.



The vertues of this good
emperour, and the know-
lage of sciences, the wor-
thines in armes, and the
purenes of his lyuynge,
caused hym to be named
amonge the famous men
of Rome. The gentill conuersacion
that he had with euery man, made him
to be renowned amonge the worthiest
of all the world. The thing most agre-
able without reprehencion of the great-
est, meane, and leaste is, that a lord
and prynce of many, be communicable
and conuersant with many. All the
good workes of good men may be con-
dem-

M A R C V S

demned with the y^el intencions of them
 that be y^el : But the good condicions
 haue suche a priuilege, that of y^el the
 good is praised, and the good approueth
 the y^el. In a mans lining, there is none
 so greate a vyce, but by good conuersa-
 tion it is couered and hidde. And con-
 trary wise, no crime is secreete, but with
 ill conuersacion, at the tyme that it bur-
 teth, it is more openly knowen. Of two
 extremities it is not so greuous to the
 common wealthe, a man to bee weake
 and faynte in secretenesse, and of gentil
 conuersacion abroad, as it is of hym
 that is secret, and is rude and of y^el con-
 uersacion openly. Diuers not beyng of
 good order and policie, we haue seene
 conuersant a great while in Rome, one
 ly for being wel conditioned. And ma-
 ny mo we haue sen, that in a short while
 after they were put in offyce, haue been
 so proude and hasty in their condicions,
 that they haue ben depriued from their
 offces. And this we sawe because this
 good emperour was so ioyous of visage,
 so ampyable in his customes, so loutyge
 in his conuersacion, that lyghtely he
 would caste his armes about the necke,
 and on the shoulders of them, and take
 them

AVRELIVS.

them by the handes, that had any thing
to doe with him. The porters woulde
not leaue them that woulde accompanie
hym in the palais : nor his garde was
not so hardy to putte a backe suche as
woulde speake with him in the fieldes.
In all his ages he applyed to that that
euerie age gaue him by nature: He was
a chyldre amonge children, yong among
yonge folke, worldly with them that
were worldly, good felowe with good
felowes, a baronne amonge baronnes,
hardy with hardy men: and finally old
with olde meune. He was wont to say,
whos any in his presence that were yong
and not well taught in their language,
told at the debilitie of age, or olde
men at the foly of youth. Leauethem,
for they leaue you. Many tymes of
wyse yonge men cometh olde fooles.
And of yonge fooles customably com-
meth wyse olde men. Naturalitie at
the laste maketh all chyng in kynde.
As of great debilitie we can drawe but
small strengthe, by our naturalitie we
may for a tyme recyue it, but not bitter-
ly master it. I am sore abashed, that
some will be so loidely and valpant in
vertues, and so hygh mynded, and yet
will

MARCVS

Wyll make vs beleue, that they ly a
 yung in the fleshe, and beyng of fleshe,
 onely fele not the fleshe. I can not tel,
 if nature hath made other of an other
 nature than I am of, or me of an other
 nature than other be. For I beyng ne-
 uer so faste inclosed in the swete conue-
 sacion of philosophy, yea in the beste
 tyme, this false fleshe wyll call at the
 gate with his naughty fleshe.

The more that we reyse and exalte vs
 with science and get libertees, the more
 lower we do put the fleshe with her mi-
 series. Beleue me one thyng, that yf a
 tree beareth not in wynter tyme his flo-
 wers, we hope not to haue the fruite in
 harueste tyme: and a younge man that
 hath not passed his yowthe with yonge
 people, we haue no hope that he should
 passe his age with olde men. And as
 we maie resiste our naturalitee, and not
 cleane to for do it, so those fathers erre,
 that ar so extremly affectioned, to haue
 theyr chyldren to begynne as olde men.
 Wherebyon it foloweth, that they end
 as yonge. This emperour was so wise
 in all thynges, that amonge them that
 were mery, he was of greate myrthe.
 And in vertees he was very veritable.

AVRELIVS.

In his pastimes he was greatly temperate, and a lover of musike, specially in good voyce and instrumentes, and soe displeased yf he hard any discorde therein. He passed most of his youth in learning of sciences. When he came to mans estate, he excercysed feates of anyghtrhode: he loved discipline and not of adulation. He was apt and happy in armes, but yet in riding of horses he hadde ofte tymes ill happe. In his younge age he delpyted to plaie at the tennis, and at the chesse in his age. He loved not these counterfaytyng playes of farces and mummeries, and yet lesse trewandes, that becn natural fooles, iuglers, and gesters, for pleasure. The players and gesters suffered great varietee in the empyre, according to the diversitee of emperours. Julius Cesar susteyned them: Octavian his newewe brore theim away, Caligula called the agayne, Cruell Nero banished them, Nerva made theim come agayne, Good Traian banished them out of al Italy, Anthouit Plius brought theim in againe: And by the handes of this good emperour Marcus Aurelius, they ended. And the occasion was, the Romanes

MARCVS

dyd celebrate with great ioye, the
 date of May, the great feast of the mo-
 ther Berecynte, mother of all the god-
 des. The sacred pyestes flamines de-
 ales, wold haue brought thither the
 mynstrelles iugglers and gellers, for
 to ioyce the feast, and contrary wyse the
 holy nunnes veastles wold haue done
 the same, so that variaunce fell betwix
 theim, some with force, and some with
 resistance, and some ranne thither in fa-
 uourynge of bothe parties, and not
 fewe, to departe theim. The cruel and
 great noyse of slaughter among theim
 was suche, that it touned the feast in
 weppynge, the pleasures into sorowes
 and their songes into wailpuges.
 This good emperour laboured to peace
 this furte of the people, and to set peace
 among the neyghbours of Rome.
 When all was dooen, he made curious
 diligence to searche out all the players
 iugglers, and iestours of Rome, and in
 al the circuite of Italy, that thei might
 bee chastysed, and Rome delpyered of
 them. And for example of al the world
 he sente theim to the gate of Hostie and
 commaunded to sette them in Balies
 and to banyshe them for ever, into the
 ple

AVRELIYS.

ples of Bellshonr: whiche was accom-
plished, as the emperour commaun-
ded. And fro that date, was neuer sente
to Rome, sugler or gesser, as longe as
the emperour lyued. But it passed not
two yerres after his deathe, but the re-
loured, whan his sonne had the rule.
And except the booke do lie, there was
in Rome greater nombie of foolcs
than of wyle men:

Of the good conuersacion of this emperour Marcus Aurelius. Capitulo. xv.



We haue sated of the
hatted that this em-
perour had to trewan-
des, reuelers, getters,
suglers, gessers, and
such other: Now wil
we speake of his len-
dable exercises of the
that came to hym. To be wel condici-
oned, the malice of mankynd is so gret,
that as good men are bounde to regard
the yll, so do they that be yll, regard to
disceyve the good. The trace of vertue
is as good in good thynges, with them
that

M A R C V S.

that be good, as the vice and dishonesty
of euell folkes, is in euill thynges.
What greater corruption in this world
may bee, than a vertuous person, for
one worke of vertue, can not find one to
helpe hym to worke it, and whan he a
lone hath wrought it, there cometh
tenne thousand to gaine say him. The
greatest goodnes of all goodnes is whan
tyrannies are put vnder by vertues ac
quyred: or to fynde remedy against ac
customed vyces, with good inclinaci
ons. And the greatest euil of all euils,
is whan a person forgetteth that he is
a manne, puttynge reason vnder foote,
straynyng his hande against vertue, and
leatteth vice rule the bydel. This em
perour Mar. Aurel. sustained in his life
great glorie, in the eschewing the villai
ny of byllaines: no lesse merited he im
mortal memorie, in sufferyng vices dis
honesties in the execution of his ver
tues. An vnfalible rule it is, amonge
the chyldren of vanitie, to chyld the vi
ces of theym that be vicious. And the
vertues wel incorporate, nor pte ma
ny enuious. Thei that be yll, beeu al
waies double yll, bycause they beate
armour defensiu, to defend thei owne
puels

AVRELIVS.

ynels : and armes offensyue, to assayle
the good manets of other. The trouth
is, if good men be diligent to seeke other
that be good, no lesse ought they for to
hye them from them that be yll : for a
good man with one finger, hath power
ouer al thein that be vertuose, but for
to withstande one yll persone, he hath
neede of handes feete and styndes.

And thoughe fortune be ill to good men,
their owne propre fame shalbe spent as
of straunglers. This good emperoure
was strong in verrue, meke in woordes
attemperate in his excreyses, homely
with euery man, sadde among sad men,
hasty among hasty men, mery with me-
ry men, and wise among wyse men, as
it is couenable for a curiouse pryuce to
be.

And whan these are approued in
the law of good menne, by clete vnder-
standyng, as well shal they be condem-
ned by them that haue yll intencions.

Than as the coles can not be in the em-
bries withoute sparkes, nor corrupcion
of the carion withoute stench, no more
can he that hath a hole and clete herte
be, without enforcyng hym to vtter lo-
uyng wordes : And he that hath an yll
hearte, alwais ouercometh other with

M A R C V S.

wordes of malyce. For it is certain, for
a small season the louer maie absteyne
his loue : and yet lesse time the payn of
hym, that is pained with loue bydde.
The sorowfull yghes, shewe the hurt
of the hert, and the malicious wordes
discouer the yl of the heart. We haue
told all this, bicause that the bountie
of this good emperour Marcus Aure-
lius, set al his ioy and gladnes in them
that wer good, and bewailed them that
were ill. And as in seblable thinges, the
worthy men shew their worthynes, and
wise men their wisdom, being vertuous
in workyng, and wise in knowelaging,
were very wylse in dissimulynge. One of
the vertues, that a wylse man ought to
haue (wherein he shall bee knowne as
wylse) is that he can suffre well. For a
man than can suffre wel, was neuer but
wylse and well manered, and therewith
to suffre the vertue of yll busynesse, is a
thyng reasonable, of al reasonable bea-
stes, and of theim that bee good, very
good. And by contrary wylse, the man
that cannot well suffre, though it be in
very iust thynges, hopeth not to be wel
treated. And lykewylse as this empe-
rour Marcus in all vertues, hath been
egal

AVRELIVS.

egall with al the emperours, of Rome,
that haue been. In this vertue of suf-
ferance, he hath surmounted al theim
of the worlde. He was wont to say ma-
ny tymes, I haue not attayned to the
empyre, by the sciences that I haue ler-
ned of the philosophers, but by the pa-
cience, that I haue had with them that
were frowarde and not learned.

And this semeth to be true, for oftentim-
es this emperour: being with the se-
nate at Collisee, or the senate with him
in the high Capitol, he seying in his pre-
sence dyuers that praised hym, and o-
ther, that in his absence among the peo-
ple blamed hym, and rebuked hym, his
attemperaunce yet was so great, and
shewed hym selfe so iuste with one and
other, that neither his friendes, that a-
greed with hym, wer sorrowful, nor his
enemies, for any disfaunour: wente a-
way complainyng and angrie.

Bill **Of**

Of the feast that the Romaines kept
to the god Jano in Rome, and what
chaunced to the saied emperor
there. Capitulo. xvi.



Amonge the solemne
feastes, that the auncient
Romaines had in-
uented, was one of the
god Janus, kepte the
fyfte daie of the yere,
whiche as nowe is the
fyrst daie of Ianuari:
He was paynted with two faces, to
shewe, that it was the laste daie of the
yere passed, and the begynnyng of the
newe yere. To this god was dedicate
a sumptuous temple in Rome: whiche
temple Numa Pompilius, called it the
temple of peace. And excepte the tem-
ple of Jupiter, it was holden in mooste
reuerence of all other. When the Ro-
main emperor went or came to Rome,
to visyte the hygh capitoll, and the ve-
rall byrgins, forthwith they wente to
praie, worshyp, and to offer at the tem-
ple of Janus. The daie of celebracon
of the saied feast, all Rome reioyced,
and

AVRELIVS.

and put on them the best clothes that
they hadde, burning great pyres in
every house, and made many plays of
enteludes, of games and mowing, and
marched all nyghte in the temples, and
helped all the prisoners that were in
prison for ever, and paid the debts with
the common treasure. They had tables
with meate before their doores, in such
aboundaunce, that more was left than
eaten, wherewith all the poore folkes in
Rome were relieved. The Romans
thought, that what so ever they spent
that daie, that the god Jano (whiche
was god of yeres) would reward them
double. The Romans saied, that this
god Janus was not unkinde nor un-
grate, for yf they spent a littel, he
would recompence them with a great
deale. At this feast was made greete
processions, every sort of people by the
sexte, the senate went a parte, the pri-
ests aparte, The Censores aparte, the
plebeynes aparte, The matrones and
yonge maydes by them selfe, and the
ambassadors went in procession with
all the captives and prisoners. Thus
they wente ever two and two: the ende
of one company, was the beginning of

MARCVS

another. And thus out of the temple
 Janus, they wente aboute all the tem-
 ples of Rome, and so oute of Rome la-
 ting into the fieldes, and rounde about
 the walles of Rome. And because the
 circuite of Rome was great, the proces-
 sions went but from one gate to an-
 other, so that towarde night all the pro-
 cessions of Rome had gone euerych one
 in their company about. And that done
 they retourned all into the temple, that
 they came out of, and there offered eche
 one as they might. And in the said pro-
 cessions it was of custome, that the em-
 perours wente accompanied with the
 senators: But this good emperor
 was so familiar, that he wolde honour
 and accompany euery man. It was ac-
 customed in Rome, that the said date
 the emperor shoulde weare on his robe,
 and mantell imperiall. And all priso-
 ners and captiues that mighte touche
 hym with their hande, were deliuered,
 and all trespassours wer pardoned, and
 banished folke were forgiven, and cal-
 led agayne. And this emperor to ple
 his clemencie, and to leaue after hym
 perpetuall memorie, left the procession
 of senators and withoute any gate,
 went

AVRELIVS.

went the procession with prisoners and captives. The whiche doing, was occasion to leave behynd hym perpetuall memorie of him selfe, and great example of clemencie and lowelpnesse to the prynces for to come. Dowe bee it there is nothyng so well dooen of them that be good, but forthwith it shall bee commended of them that be yll: And therefore this example was so much dispraised of them that were yll, as praysted and allowed of them that were good. And in lyke wise as amonge them that be good, there is one noted to bee pure good, so amonge them that be yll, there is one noted to be ryghte yll. And that worse is, that the vertuous person commeth not the glori of his vertue so great, as the malicious person by his malice is shamed. This is said, because there was a senatour in the senate, named Fulvius, whiche was as blacke by his malice, as whyte by his heates. He laboured soze in the daies of Adrian to have been emperour, and had Marcus alwayes as competitor. And as it is a naturall thyng to them that have yll heartes, to shewe their malice in inate thynges, so this emperour dyd never no

M A R C V S

good to ynge openly, but this fault
would be grudge thereat secretly. And
though be this emperoure was greatly
praised for the deliuerung of prisoners,
yet the saied senator coude not haue
the prudence for to suffer it, and so put
in mockery, and parte in earnest, he saide
these wordes to the emperour in the se-
nate: Why givest thou thy selfe to all
men?

¶ Howe Marcus the emperour an-
swered a senator in the senate.
Capitulo. xvi.

The emperour Marcus An-
relins heyring what the se-
nator had saied to him, in
the presence of the senators,
that is to witte, Wherefore
he gaue him to all men, he answered,
Frende, I geue me to all men, because
all men geue them to me, and are glad
of me. Beleue me, that ouer great ry-
gour in a prince caused barrede of the
people. The goddis will not, nor the
lawes permit not, nor the agreement of
the comon welthe wyll not suffer, that
princes be lordes ouer many, and to ac-
company

AVRELIVS.

company but with a few. I haue redde
in booke, and haue proued it by my self,
that the loue of subiectes, the suertie of
the prince, the dignitie of the empyre,
and the honour of the Senate, do con-
serue the prince, not with rygour, but
with gentyll conuersacion. The fysher
goeth not to take dyuers fyshes of the
riuer with one bayte, nor the marpnet
with one nette curreth into the see. I
promyse you the depenelle of good wyl-
les ought to be wonne with the depues
of the hearte, some with gyftes, some
with wordes, some with promyses, and
some with fauoures. The insatiate co-
ueterous men are neuer contente, nor wyl
open theyr affection, but locke vp their
treasures. And suche as seruerth for
loue, are lesse content with openyng of
their treasure, than lockyng vpp their
wylles. It is an olde prouerbe of Spa-
thagoras: Loue is paid with other
loue. Whow ill fortune it is to a prince,
and howe vnhappy it is to a common
welthe, whan the people serue not their
lordes, but for rewardes, and the lordes
to kepe and maintein them, but for
their seruyce. With diuers stones and
our cement, bulldyng is repled, and of
diuers

M A R C V S

Diuers men, and one lord, is composed
 a common welth. And yf geometrye be-
 gyle me not, the mortar that tyneth
 one stone with an other, ought not to be
 medled with sande and flected tyme by
 reason. Separate the stones, and the
 wall openeth, and leat the cymment fail,
 and the edifice fallerh. He that is wise,
 may wel vnderstand me. Loue betwene
 nepphbouris suffereth to bee mistgate
 with water: but it is requisite, that the
 loue of the prynce and his people bee
 pure. Diuers troubles, and at diuerse
 tymes, I haue seen among the common
 people of Rome in one day moued and
 appeased: but one discorde reysed be-
 twene the lord and the common welth,
 vnto the deathe, is neuer accorde. It is
 a diffiicile thyng, to make appointment
 of many with many, and more diffiicile,
 to accord one with an other. But with-
 out comparisson, more harder it is, to a-
 poynte diuers with one, than one with
 diuerse. And in this case I wil not saue
 the prynce, nor leaue the people uncon-
 demned. Fro whens (as ye thinke) co-
 meth it nowe a daies, that lordes with
 annoyauce commaunde vnjust thinges,
 and in iuste thinges the subiectes are vni-
 just.

AVRELIVS.

obedient? Nowe here me, and I shall
tell you. The prynce doyng a thyng in
dede and not of ryghte wyll confounde
the wyll of euery man, and beleue his
owne vnderstandynge, and draue of
hym selfe and all other his onely wyll.
Contrary wyse, the multitude of the
people dispraisynge theyr lordes vnder-
standynge, do as thei wil, not as al wil,
but as enery man despyeth hym selfe.
Of trouthe it is a greuous thyng, al-
thoughe it bee greatly accustomed, to
wyll, that all gounes shuld be mete for
one man, and that one mans harnais
shulde be mete to all men. I than what
shall we do, that our fathers haue left
thus in the worlde, and also we holde
that wee bee their chyldren, and that
worse is, we leaue the same to our hey-
res? O how many princes of my prede-
cessours, I haue redde of, that haue ben
lost in shewyng them selfe ouer strange,
and beloued of none? I wyll tel you of
some of theim for craumples, that I
haue redde in my booke, so the entente
that prynces maie see what they winne
by amiable chuersacion, and what they
lose by ouermuch straungenesse. In the
realme of Athens; greater in armes
than

MARCVS

than the Caldeens, and lesse in aduantage and antiquitee than the Assyriens: One maner forme of kynges endured amonge theim. CC. xx. yeres, by reason thei were of lowable conuersation, And an other fourme and maner (as Homer saith) lasted but .xl. yeres, by cause these kynges were of an yl condition. And the. ix. Epiphanes of the Egypciens was vnioumbred and putte downe, bycause there was a lawe that echone shuld be bare legged in the temples vpon the holy daies. And this king on a daie riding came before the god Apis, god of the Egypciens, the whiche thing was not suffered, for beside that he was put out of his realme, he was chastised. Also the. vi. Artaxidauel the inuincible kyng of Parthes, not onely was depriued, but also banished oute of his realme, bycause he dyed at a knyghtes bridale, and woulde not eate at the bridale of a communer. Yet also though the realme of Italy was scant, these herres were greatte: for bycause one of theyr Marranes, for soe were their kynges called, had whette his gaites by nyghte, for to slepe the surelper, he was depriued of his realme: because
a lawe

AVRELIYS.

a lawe was made, that no prince shuld
 weare his gares nyght nor daie: for thei
 saied, thei had made him kynge for to
 dyue afoale their cunemyes, and not
 to be daintily noutished. Tarquine
 the lade kyng of the Romans was un-
 kynde to his father in lawe, diffamed
 his blod and kynrede, was a traytoure
 to his countrey, cruel of his person, and
 aduourter with Lucrece: but for all
 that he was not called vugentyll, nor
 infamed, nor traytoure, nor cruel, nor
 aduourter, but he was named Tarquin
 the proude, bycause he was of yll con-
 ditions and complexions. And yet by
 the lawe of good men, I shewe to you,
 that yf the saied unhappy Tarquine
 had had good will in Rome, for the ad-
 vourty of Lucrece he had not be put out
 of his realme, for as muche as other
 greater and more greuous harmes had
 bene done before his time, and also mu-
 che worse sicken by aged emperours in
 the empyre, the whiche crimes by them
 committed were suche, that the offence
 of this trayle pong man was but smale
 in estimacion. For thyng certaine these
 princes holde, that if they geue dyuers
 occasions for these yll will, yet a lytell
 thyng

thing fullier if he shewe, that the power
that he hath is for none pl^uryl: but the
hate that the subiect hath to the lord,
because he hath no power.

Julius Cesar, the last dictator and
first Emperour, because he forgot to be a
man among men, but thinking to be a god
among goddes, being a lawdable cus-
tome, that the senate should salute the
emperour on their knees, and the emper-
our to rise curtellly agaynst them: be-
cause of a presumptuous mind, he wold
not kepe the ceremony, he merited to
lose his life with. xxiii. strokes of pen-
sinues. And as I saie of these so fewe
a number, I maye saie of many other.

The physicians with a lyttell saubarbe
purge many humours of the body, and
the emperour with a lyttell beneuolence
taketh many greues fro the stomackes
of his subiectes. The people shew obe-
dience to the prince, & to do his person
great reuerence, and fulfill his com-
maundementes, and the prince sheweth
egal iustice to every man, and make con-
solation to all men,

Cicero said diuers tymes
in Rome: That the publyke welthe is
there perpetuall and without any los-
taine

AVRELIVS.

bayne falle, where the prynce synnder the
 obedience, and all the people synnder
 loue with the prynce. For of the loue
 of the lord, breedeth the good obedience
 of the subiecte, and of the obedience of
 the subiecte, breedeth the good loue of
 the lord. The emperour of Rome is
 lyke to a spyder that is in the myddes
 of her webbe. For if the saied cōtwebbe
 be touched with the poynte of a nebell,
 forthwith the spider feleth it. I meane
 that all the workes of the emperour in
 Rome been streight waie knowne in al
 the earthe. I beleue that this daie I
 haue ben iudged of humayne malice, for
 accompanying the procellion of the cap-
 tines, and that I suffered them to tou-
 che me, that they myght enioy the pri-
 uiledge of libertee. I yelde and gve
 great graces to my goddes of my good
 happe, because they haue made me pr-
 uill to deliuer prisoners, and not
 cruel as a tyrante for to make them
 bonde that be free. The proverbe saith:
 One inace maie take two byrdes: So
 it hath been this day, for that benefite
 rebounded onely to the myserable pry-
 soners, but the fauour, to all their na-
 tions. And doe ye not knowe that by
 I the

M A R C V S.

the taking away of their yrons, & how
drawen to me the heartes of all the
realmes and countreys? Finally it is
more sure to a prince to be serued with
free heartes, and loue of them that be
at libertie, than of subiectes constrain-
ded with feare.

Come the emperor Marcus deuolde
the howres of the daie for the busi-
nesses of the empire. Ca. xiiii.



ere before we haue shew-
wed how this good em-
peror had great hatred of
men that were of pl. living,
and that passed their time
in pl. exercise. It sufficeth
not the philosopher to reprove the vice of
other by wordes, but it is necessary that
he doe the workes that he requyret of
other to do: It is reaso now to shew, how
this emperor by his great prudence
passed and dispatched the greater and
huge busynesses of the empire, the par-
ticularities of his household, the recre-
ation of his person, the exercise of his
studies, the infinite reasoning with one
and other, with luche pain taking, and

AVRELIVS. 71

in so hoote tyme. He was so apte and
wel aduysed, that by him there was no
time pilspend. And neuer failed to dis-
patche the busynesse of the empire.
And because the tyme is glorious of
of him that gloriously spendeth it, and
the tyme is accursed, that so out do-
mage and without profite to other pas-
sers, leauynge vs ignorant as beate beas-
tes: He departed the tyme by tymes, the
other whereof was thus. Seven hou-
res he slept in the nyght, and rested one
houre in the day. At dyner and supper
he walked but onely two howres: he be-
spente two howres for the matters of
Africa: other two howres for the busyn-
nes of Europe and Affrike: and in con-
seruation of his house, and with his
wyfe and children seruantes and fren-
des that came to see him, he spent other
two howres: And for the outwaied bu-
synesse, as to here the complayntes of
them that wer grieved. The suites of
poore men wanting iustice, to widowes,
the robberies of pychers, of mychers,
and vacaboundes, he deputed an other
houre. Al the rest of the day and night
readynge of bookes, to wyte workes to
make mettes, to studie antiquities: to

practyse with wise men, to dispute a-
 mong philosophers, he passed thus or-
 dinately in wynter: And in sommer pl
 cruell warres letted hym not, or that
 he were troubled with great and beye
 house matters, he wente euer to bed at
 ix. of the cloche, and awoke at iiii. xi
 was of custome that emperours hadde
 euer lightes brennyng in their chambe
 ber. And therefore whan he awoke, by
 cause he wolde not be yde, he had euer
 a booke at his bed desherch. And thus in
 readdyng he spent the rest of the night,
 tyll it was dase. He arose at. vi. of the
 cloche, and made hym ready openly not
 angrely, but merily: he wolde demaund
 of them that were presente, howe they
 had spent al the night tyme. And then
 he wolde reherse what he had red that
 nyght. Whan he was ready, he wolde
 washe his handes with very well smel-
 lnyng waters: for he was a great lover
 of al swete odours. He had a good and
 a quicke smellnyng. Whan in the morn-
 nyng before every man, he woulde take
 iii. or. iiii. morselles of electuarie of Ma-
 cabas, and two draughtes of Aqua vi-
 te. After that in sommer he wolde go
 forth with a foote to the riuer side, and
 there

AVRELIVS.

there passe the tyme the space of two
 howres. And as sone as the heat came,
 he wolde go to the high capitoll to the
 senate. That done he wente to the col-
 ledge, where as al the procurours and
 ambassadours of all prouinces were,
 and there he wold be a great part of the
 daie, and here euey nacion by it selfe,
 accordyng to the tyme that was depu-
 ted by order. And toward the evening,
 he woulde go to the temple of the wy-
 gys vestales. He ate but ones a day,
 and that was somewhat late, and than
 he wold make a good meale, and but of
 fewe meates. He had a custome euey
 weke in Rome, or other citles, where
 as he was, that two daies late in the e-
 uenyng he woulde walke in the streetes
 without his garde or knyghtes, onely
 with .x. or .xii. pages, to see if any per-
 son woulde speake with hym, or com-
 playne of any offycer of his courte and
 house, and this he caused to be deman-
 ded of other men. This good emperour
 shoulde oftentymes say: A good prince
 that will rule and gouerne wel, and not
 to be a tyrant, ought to do thus: That
 is, that he be not couetous of tributes,
 nor proude in his commaundementes.

not vnkynd to scruples, nor bold in the
temples, nor dese to here complayntes.
In fulfylling hereof he shall haue the
goddess in his handes, and the hearted
of men shall be his. All the whyle that
this Marke was emperour, he had ne-
uer porter at his chambre dore, but it
were the two houtes that he was with
Faustine his wyfe. This good emper-
our had in his house a secret closet lock-
ed with a key that he bare hym selfe,
and neuer trusted none other therewith
to the houre of his death. And than he
commanded to deliuer it to Pompei-
no, a prudent auncient baron that was
marryed to his doughter: In the which
closet he had dyuers booke written in al
languages, as Greke, Hebrewe, latine,
and Caldee, and other antike historics.

The answer of Marke the emperour,
whan Faustine his wyfe demaunded
the key of his study. Cap. xix.

As it is naturall to women to dis-
pise that thyng that is given the
vnasked, so it is death to thein to
be denaied of that thei do demaunde.
This emperour had the study of closet

AVRELIVS.

Of his house in the most secreete place of his palais, wherein he neyther suffered his wyfe, servant, nor frend to enter.

On a day it chaunced, that Faustine the emperesse despyed importunately to see that study, sayng these wordes:

My lord, leat me se your secreete chambre. Beholde I am great with chylde, and shall dye, yf I see it not. And ye knowe well, that the lawe of the Romans is, that nothyng shall be denied to women with chylde, of that they despie. And if ye do otherwyse, ye do it in dede, but not of right.

For I shal die with the chylde in my bowle. And more ouer I thynke in my mid, that ye haue some other louer within your study. Therfore to put a way the perill of my trauailling, and to assure my heart from yelousely, it is no great thyng to leat me entre into your studye. The emperour sayng that Faustines wordes were of trouth, and bycause he sawe her wordes washed with weping, answered her on this wise: It is a thyng certayn, whan one is contented, he saletb more with his tounge, than he thynketh with his hearte. And contrary wyse, whan one is heuy, the eyes

wepe not so muche, nor the tonge can
 not declare that is locked in the heart.
 Vayne men with vayne wordes sworne
 and declare they; vayne pleasures. And
 the wyse men with prudente wordes,
 dissemble they; cruell passions. Among
 wyse men he is wysest, that knoweth
 muche, and sheweth to knowe but lye-
 tell: And among the simple, he is most
 simple, that knoweth but lye tell, and
 sheweth hym selfe to knowe muche.
 They that are prudent, though they are
 demaunded, say nothyng: but simple
 folke wyll speake ynough without as-
 kyng of any question. This I say Fau-
 stine, bycause thy weppynge hath so hurt
 me: and thy vayne speche so turmented
 me, that I can not declare that I fele,
 nor thou canst not fele that that I say.
 Diuerse aduertismentes haue they writ-
 ten, that haue written of marriage, yet
 haue they not written, howe many tra-
 ualles that one woman causeth her hus-
 bande to suffer in one day. Of a suretie,
 it is a ioyfull thyng to reioyce in the
 chyldehode of chyliden, but it is a ryght
 cruel thyng to suffer the importunities
 of their mothers. The children do now
 and then a thyng that turneth vs to pla-
 sure

AVRELIVS.

sure, but ye women do nothing but giue
 vs displeasure. I shall agree with all
 married men to pardon their chyldrens
 pleasures, for the annoyauce that the
 mothers giue to them. One thyng I
 haue seen, the which neuer begyled me,
 that the iuste goddes do giue to the vn-
 iuste men, that all the euyls that they
 do in this world, shalbe remitted to the
 furies of the other worlde: But yf they
 do commit any sinne for the pleasure of
 any woman, the goddes commaunde,
 that by the haies of the same woman,
 we shall receyue payne in this worlde,
 and not in the other. There is not so fi-
 erre or perillous an ennemy to a man, as
 is his wyfe. And though a man can not
 lyue with her as a man. I neuer sawe
 none so light, being with a vicious wo-
 man, in doing vice, but that by the same
 woman, at the laste he receiued shame
 and chastisement: Of one thyng I am
 sure, and I saie it not bycause I haue
 sen it, but experimented in my self, that
 though the husband do al that his wyfe
 will, yet will she do nothing that her
 husband wolde haue done. Great cru-
 eltye is among the Barbariens to hold
 their wyues as selauens: And no lesse
 I b madnesse

MARCVS

madnes is it of Romains, to kepe the
no ladies. Fleshe oughte not to be
lean, that it abhorre: no; so fatte that
it close the stomache: but meane and co
terlabed, to the end that it be sauoury.
I saie that a wyse man can not gyue
strong a byddel to his wyfe, that she
obey as an hand mayden: no; giue her
so litell of the byddell, but she wyll ex
alte her selfe as maystresse and ruler.
Beholde Faulstyne howe ye women are
so extreme in all heedlong extremities,
that with a litell fauour ye wyll exalt
augement, and grow into gret pite: and
with a litell disfauour, ye recouer gret
hatred. There is no perfecte loue, where
is no egalitee betwene the louers. And
as ye and other are vnperfect, so is your
loue vnperfect. I wot wel ye vnderstand
me not. Therefore vnderstand Faulstyn,
that I saie more than ye wene. There
is no woman, that with her wyll wolde
suffre any greater than her selfe: not to
be content to haue an other egall with
her. For though she haue a. ccc. li. cent,
yet she harbe. x. ccc. folpes in her beere.
And that worse is, though she chaunce
her husbunde to dye, and she lese all her
rent, yet endeth not her folishnes. Behold

AVRELIVS.

hen to me, and I shall tell to you more.
 All women wolde speake, and haue all
 other to be styll: they wolde gouerne,
 and be gouerned of none other. One
 thyng they desyre, that is to se, and to
 be seen. And suche as be lyght in folo-
 wing theyr lightnes, they hold as their
 subiectes and sclauyes: and suche as be
 wyse, and reprove their appetites, they
 pursue as ennemies. In the annales
 Pompeiens, I haue found a thing wor-
 thy for to be knowen, and that is: whan
 Queene Pompeie passed into the oriente
 on the mountaynes Arices he founde a
 maner of people called Masagetes,
 whiche had a lawe, that euery inhabi-
 tant or dweller shoulde haue two son-
 nes, or sattes, bycause there was lacke
 of houses in the saied mountaynes:
 In one was the husbande, the sonnes
 and men seruantes: and in the other the
 wyfe the daughters and maydens.
 On the holy dayes they dyd eate to-
 gether, and ones in the weeke they laye
 together: Whan great Pompeie had
 questioned the cause of their lyuyng in
 that maner, for that he neuer sawe nor
 knewe a more extreme thyng in all the
 worlde, One of theim answered: Pom-
 pey

MARCVS

pele behold, the goddes haue gyuen vs
but a short life, for none of vs maie liue
aboue. It yere at the moste, and those
yeres we trauayle to lyue in peace.
And in haupng our wyues with vs still
in company, we shoulde lyue euer dyng,
for we shoulde passe the nightes in hea-
ryng their complayntes: and the daies
in sufferng their bratwylnges and chy-
dynges. In keepng them this wyse
from vs a parte, they nourshe the
chylidren more peasibly, eschewng the
nopes that sleeth the fathers.

Tell the Faustine, that though we
call the Masagetes barbariens, in this
case they be wiser then the Romaynes.
One thyng I wyll tel you Faustine, and
I praye you make it well. If the deas-
ly meuing of the fleshe enforced not the
wyll of man to do his luste, and that he
wold not desyre women, I doubt whe-
ther women woulde suffre it or loue it
the lesse. Of trouthe yf the goddes had
made this loue voluntary, as it is natu-
rall, that is as we woulde be myghte,
and not as we wold and maie not: with
great pepn a man myght bee satisfied,
though he shoulde lose hym selfe for any
woman. It is a great secret of the god-
des,

AVRELIVS.

des, and a great misery to man, that the
 saynte and weake fleshe both force the
 heart whiche shold be free, to loue that
 it abhorreth, and to alove that that do
 mageth. This is a great secreete, that
 men can fele it euery houre as men: and
 yet by discretion may not remedy it.
 I enuie not the liuyng goddes, nor the
 men that be deed, but for two thynges,
 and they been these: The goddes lyue
 without feare of them that be malici-
 ous, and they that be deed are in peace
 without nede of women. The ayre is so
 corrupte, that it corrupteth euery man
 with two pestilenc plagues so deadly, that
 the fleshe and the heart enderth. **S**an-
 ctine, is the loue of the fleshe so natural,
 that whan the fleshe fleeth scornfully
 we shoulde leue the true harte as cap-
 ture. And the reason as reason put her
 to flight, the fleshe as fleshe fordwyn
 yelberth her to you as ouercome.

The emperour reberseth the perilles
 of them that haunt women ex-
 cessuely. Cap. xx.

The emperour folowynge his poun-
 tpose declaret the vniuersall do-
 mages, that come to man by ouer-
 muche

M A R C V S

muche conuersacion and haunting of
 women. And after he had tolde some
 particuler cases that he had suffered
 with Faustin his wyfe, he saied: I am
 well remembred, that in my yongage I
 folowed the fleste to muche, with pur-
 pose neuer to retorne. And therefore I
 confesse, that yf I had good desyres in
 one date in Bede thereof a .xij. daies I
 wroughte yll. It is reason that yf two
 men flee from them that flee from you:
 to hyde you from them that hyde them
 fro you, to leue them that leaue you, to
 separte you fro them that separte
 them fro you: to forgeat them that for-
 get you. For some scape fro your handes
 yf lamed and effeminate: and other are
 hurt with your tonges, many ben perse-
 cuted with your workes, and the bet-
 ter to scape free, thet come alway abhor-
 red of your heartes and bound to your
 lightnesse. Than who that feeleth
 this, what getteth he by the attaynyng
 thereof? O to howe many perpyles of-
 fereth he him selfe, that with women is
 greely conuersant: If a man loue them
 not, they counce hym as a byllayne: yf
 he loue them they thincke hym lyghte:
 yf he leaue them, they repute him for a
 coward:

AVRELIVS.

warde: yf he foloweth them, he is losse.
yf he serue them; he is not regarded, yf
he serue them not, he shall be hated of
them, if he will haue them, they will
not haue hym: if he despye them not,
they will seke on him: yf he haunt them,
he is yll named: yf he haunt them not,
they rechen hym no man. What shall
the vnbappy man doe? Let men take
this for certayn, that though the hous-
band do for his wyfe all that he can do
as a man, and that he ought to do as a
husbande, and with his weakenesse doe
the beste that he can, for to fynde reme-
dy against pouertee with his trauayle,
and put hym selfe in daungier for hir e-
uery houre: all this shall not please his
wyfe, nor make her the better; but she
will saie, that the traitour longeth other,
and that all that he dooeth, is onely to
accomplishe his pleasure on them. At
many daies ago Faustine, I haue wil-
led to tell the this, but I haue differred
it tyll now, hopping that thou wouldest
giue me occasion to tell it the: the wyfe
the long agoe thou hast caused me to
feele. It is no poynt of wyse men, that
for euery time they are annoyed with
their wyues, forthwith to hurte them
with

with wordes: For amongst wyse men
the fated wordes are most esteemed when
they are well appoyned and fated to
good purpose: I do verypoke me, that
it is. vi. pere sayd Anthony was thy fa-
ther byd choleine to his sonne in lawe,
and thou me to be thy houband, and
the for my wyfe: this my fatall destinie
byd permitte, at the commitalment
of Adrian my lord. My father in law
gaue the his saye daughter to me for
wyfe, and the very sad and ponderous
enippe in mariage: I trowe we were
all beggled: He to take me for his son,
and I to choode the for my wyfe.
He was named Anthony wile, because
he was pietefull of all thynges, saue on
some, to whom he was cruell, for in al
lytell fleshe he gaue me many bones,
and to saie the trouth, I haue no teth
to gnawe it, nor no heat in my stomack
to dygest it: and manye tymes I haue
thoughte my selfe lode with it.
For thy beaultie thou were belpyed of
manye, but for thyne puell condition
thou were abhorred of all.
I haue vndappy ben thy deservies: Paul
mine, and howe puell haue the goddes
prouided for the. They haue given the
beaultie

beautie and rychesse for to hndoe the,
And they haue denyed and refused to
the the beste, that is good condicions,
qualitee and wisdomme to mainteine
them. I say to the again, that the god-
des haue been veray cruell to the, for the
they adressed the to the wyrtlepole,
where as all yf folke peryshe, and haue
taken from the, the sayles and oores,
whereby all good folke escape.

The. xxxviii. yerres that I was with
oute a wyfe, seemed not to me. xxxviii.
daies: and the. vi. yerres that I haue
been married, seme to me. vi. hundred ye-
res. I wylt assure the one thyng, that
yf I had knowen before, that I knowe
nowe, and had felt than, that I fele at
this houre, I wold say an other thyng.
And though the gaddes wold comaund
me, and Adrian my master wold com-
maunde me, I woulde not chaunge my
pouertie and quietnes, for the mariage
of the and the empyre. But I haue de-
sired the to thy good fortune, and my
selfe to myne yll fortune. I haue saied
but a litell, and haue suffered a great
deale: I haue feined a great while, but
I can feyne no longer. No man suffe-
reth his wyfe so myche, but he is bound

MARCVS.

to suffer more. Let a man, that is a
man consyder, and lyke wise a woman
that is a woman consyder, what bold-
nes she is of, that quarelleth with her
housebande, and that he is a foole that
brawleth openly with his wyfe. For if
she be good, he ought to fauer her, that
we may be the better: if she be a wretch,
he muste suffre her, that shee beare not
worse. Euery man knoweshe, that all
thynges suffereth chastisemente sauen
a woman, whiche (as a woman) wyl be
desired and praled. Faustine beleue me,
yf feare of the goddes, the shame of his
personē, and speech of the people, wyl
drawe not a woman from euyl, all the
chastysment of the worlde wyl not o-
uercom her. The heart of man is very
noble, and the heart of a woman is
deyntee, and wyl haue great hye for
lytell goodnes, and for muche euyl
chastysment. A wyse man wyl knowe
what he hath to do or he may. And if
he determyne hym to take the company
of a wyfe, he ought to flarge his heart to
receiue all that may come with her. It
is but a small wytt in a man to set by
the smalle fantasies of his wyfe, or to
to chastise openly that may be ryghted
betwixt

Bestwene thrim secretly. **H**e that is
 wife and will live quietly with his wife
 ought to kepe this rule: admonishe her
 often, and reprove her but seldom, and
 lay no handes on her. For by other me-
 nes he getteth not fidelitee on her nor
 good entretyng of her, nor good bring-
 ynge vpon of their chylde, nor seruyce
 to the goddes, nor any hope of profyte
 of her. And thus Faustine I will
 say no more to the, but that thou con-
 sider, that I doe consider, and knowe
 that I do so, and that my sufferance be-
 knownen to the, maye suffice to amende
 my lyfe.

The emperours answer to Faustine
 for that she saied, she was with
 chylde. **Cap. xxi.**



Xow that I have opened
 and putte out the olde ve-
 nim, I will answer to thy
 present request or demand.
 To the intent that medi-
 cines maye profite they in
 that be speke, it is necessary to dispoyle
 the opylations and leasies of the sto-
 mach: whereto none can counsaill his
 friends

MARCVS.

friend conueniently, but yf he shew his
his greife. Thou demandest of me the
key of my body, and thou shietnest me,
that if I geue it the not, thou shalt be
lost and hurte with thy fute. ye wo-
men with childe haue a good hostage
pledge, for vnder coloure of traualying
before your time, ye wold haue be fulfil-
sat your sonde apetytes. When the holy
senate in the vnhappy time made a law
in fauour of Romaine matrones, they
were not so despyous. Nowe I wold
not how it is, but ye all are annoyed and
sore of all goodnesse. And all ye in all
ppl despyous and couetous. As farre as
I can remembre, when Camyll made
this booke to Cybill the mother of god-
des, to sende hym victorie in a battaile,
when he had won the victory, Rome
was so poore, that it had neither golde
nor siluer, for to make the statute of
promesse, the matrones than being, re-
puge that theyr husbandes shd offer
their lyes in the said statute, they gra-
ted to present theyr selues to the ho-
ly senate. It was a maruailous thing
to see, that without any speache to
them, or without any mans iurysment
they determynd all together to goe
the

the hygh capytoll, and there in the presence of euery man presented they: ornaments hangyng at their eares. The ringes of their fyngers, the braceletes of they: armes, the perles from their attires of their heades, the collers frome their neckes, The broches of their brestes, the gyrdels abouse their middels, and borders of their gownes. And though that their gyfte was esteemed to a gret value, yet their good willes was esteemed a great deale more. The riches that thei offered there was so gret, that there was not all onely inoughe to performe the vowe of the statute, but also to pursewe the warre. And as than the custome of Rome was, that none did them any plesure, but he was shortly recompensed: the same daie that the matrones did offre their riche and faire iewelles in the capitol, ther was granted vnto them spue maner of thynges in the Senate: The firste, that at they: deathes the oratours shuld preach, publish, and shew their good liuing: The secounde that they shuld sit in the temple, where as before they were wont to stande: The thyrde, that they shoulde were furred and lyned gownes, where

as before they were none but syngle:
The fourthe that in their diseases they
myght drinke wine, where as before on
their lyues they durste drinke none but
water: The. v. that the Matrones of
Rome great with chylde, should not be
refused of any thyng that they desired.
These fyue thynges for certayne weere
iustely and willyngly graunted by the
senate. And why this lawe that com-
maundeth to deny nothyng to a wo-
man with chylde was made, I wyl tell
the the occasion that moued the senate
so to do Fuluius Torquate beyng consul
in the warre agaynst the Volscos, the
kynghes of Mauritarne broughte to
Rome a wylde man, that had but one
eye, that they had taken in huntynge in
the desertes of Egypt. And the matro-
nes of Rome were at this tyme as sad
and honeste, as they be nowe bolde and
light. So was the wife of the said Tor-
quate, that was nyghe the tyme of her
delyueraunce greatte with chylde, of
frouth a woman so honeste, that for the
sobie solitarines that she kept in Rome
she had no lesse glorie than had her hus-
bande in the warres for his worthines,
the whiche was well proued, For in the

xlvi. yere that Torquate her housband
was in Asie a warre fare, the fyrst time
that he went thither, she was neuer sen
at the wyndowe lokyng oute, and shee
was not al onely regarded for that, but
in all the saied .xlii. yeres neuer man
chylde nor man above the aeye of .viii.
yeres came within her gates. And not
content with this, that she dyd to geue
example to all Rome, and to attaine per-
petuall memorie, where as she had left
with her thre sonnes, the eldeste of
whome was but thre yeres of age: and
as sone as they came to .viii. yere, she
sent them out of hir hous to their gran-
sfathers. And thus did this excellēt Ro-
main lady, to thentent that vnder color
of hyr own chylde there shuld none o-
ther yong chylde enter into hir house.
Those yeres passed, after that the good
olde man Torquate was retourned fro
the warres of the volseos, the saied with-
man with one eye went by the doore of
the saied Torquate, and one of her may-
dens tolde her, that it was a meruay-
lous thyng to se: and the good lady had
great desyre to see hym, and bycause
there was none to brynge hym to her,
that she myght see hym, she dyed for so:
R. liii. Rome.

rowe. And for certayne though he came
often enough by her doore, yet he wold
never go nor loke out at her wyndowe
to se hym. Her deathe was greatly be-
wailed in Rome, for she was in Rome
most derely beloued, and good reason:
for many dayes afore was no suche wo-
man brought in Rome. And by the com-
maundement of the senate, the tenour
of this wrytting in verses were set vpon
her sepulchre.

¶ Here lieth the glorious matron wife
of Torquate, that woulde auenture hir
lyfe to assure hir god fame.

¶ Behold Faustine, this lawe was not
made to remedy the deathe of this ma-
tron, but to thend that to such as ye be,
and to al the world it shuld be a perpe-
tual example of hir life, and inemoz of
hir deathe: It was well done to ordein
that lawe for an honeste woman beynge
with child, that it shulde be kepte to al
vertuous women. And as womē wold,
that the lawe of them that be with child
shuld be kepte, so by the same lawe it is
requisite so requyre that they be honest.
In the. vii. c. able of the lawe it is sated:
We command, that where there is cor-
ruption of customes there liberties shal
not be kept.

¶ Howe

Home tydynges was brought to the
emperor, that the Mauritanus
wolde conquere great Bry-
taine. Cap. xlii.



At the .liiii. yere of Mar-
cus the emperours aeye,
and the tenth yere of his e-
lection to the empire, In the
month of July, as he was
in the cite of Naples, and
not in bette perfite helthe, for he was
sore payned with the gout in his foote:
there came a Centurion in maner of a
messenger with great haste, sayeng that
in great britayne was sodenly arrived
a great nauy of warre, to the numbre of
L. and. xxx. ships of the realm of Mau-
ritain; and the quantitee of, xx. M. men
of foote, and. li. M. men of armes: and
that the kyng of Mauritanes brother
was their capitain, named Asclipio, the
whiche had taken lande at a haven of
the ple called Aepine, and that to resist
so great a power, there were but a few
people in the said ple. The good empe-
rour heyring these tidynges, though he
felte it inw ardely as a man, yet he say-

B. b.

ned

MARCVS

ned it outwardly as a discret man with
a sadde countenauice, and made fewe
woordes. Than seynge, that busynesse
might not be delayed, he said these wo-
des: I wyll go with a fewe people, and
do what I can. For better it wer with
a fewe to goe betymes, than to tary for
many and gooe to late. And forthwith
the good emperour pourueyed, that all
they of his palais shoulde depart to go
to Brytaine, and none to tary behynde
to do him seruice. The custome was,
that the emperours shoulde haue alway
in their howses such men as were mete
to be sent forth in any busynesses that
shuld happen for warre. And after that
they were shpypped, there arriued one of
Britaine, that shewed, howe the Ga-
aritains were retourned, so that none of
theim was lefte in the yle. Than this
emperour kept his house in a good point.
Attell occasion susseyth to theim that
be naturally of ill inclinacion, to depart
and spiede thorough countreys to dooe
harme: therefore he sente theim of his
house to the intent, that by occasion of
the warre, they shoulde not leade an y-
llyfe. Than the emperour fearyng the
dissolucion of his court, and boldenesse
of

AVRELIVS.

of his officers, to the entent thei shulde
not leaue vertue and growe in vice, he
determined on a day to cal them to him
secretly, and to say these wordes to the.

What thempetour saied to them of his
courte in eschewyng ydel-
nesse. Cap. xxiii.



The grettest signe in a ver-
tuouse man is to do ver-
tuouse workes, and ver-
tuously to spend and oc-
cupie his tyme: and the
greateste signe of a losse
man is to leaue his time

in naughty workes. The grettest happe
of all, and the greateste desire of men is
to liue long. For dyuers chaunces that
fall in thorte tyme may be suffered and
remedied by long space. Plato saied:
A man that passeth his lyfe withoute
profite, as one vnworthy to lyue, ought
to haue the reste of his lyfe taken frome
hym. The filthe of secretre chaumbres,
the synche of the pumpe in thypes, nor
the ordures of cities do not corrupt the
ayle so muche, as ydel folke do the peo-
ple. And as there is in a man, that oc-
cupi

MARCVS

cupleth his tyme well, no vertue but it
 encreaseth, so in hym, that occuppeth
 his tyme yll, there is no vyllaine but it
 is suspect in him. A man that is alway
 well occupied, ought euer to be reputed
 as good: and the yll man withoute fur-
 ther inquiry ought to be condemned as
 noughte. Shewe me now, I desyre you
 what doeth nouryshe the corrupte and
 fowle wtedes, the nettelles that stinge,
 and the briers that pricke, but the erthe
 that is vntylled, and wahren wyld, and
 the fieldes ful of thystels, which is not
 wyded, and vylited with the plough?
Come without Rome, that now
 as unhappy hast but onely the name of
 Rome, bycause thou art so dere in ver-
 tues, and makeste byces good chepe.
 Yea yea, and I shall tell the, knoweste
 thou wherefore thou arte so? bycause
 thou hast vnpeopled the lanes and stre-
 tes of workemen and offycers, and hast
 peopled it all about with infinite bac-
 bundes. I knowe for trouthe, that the
 Samytes, Mosigoths, Astrogoths, and
 Veniens spredde in your territories, do
 you not so muche damage as doe these
 ydell and losse people suffered in euery
 shoppe. All writers can not deny me,

AVRELIVS.

If all nations woulde conquer Rome,
 they coulde not can not take awape one
 loope of the walles of it: and these poel
 people haue trooden and pulled vnder
 their feete the good venoume of it. An
 infallible rule it is: a man giuen to exer-
 cises is vertuous, and one giuen to leu-
 trynges is a vicious person. What a
 diuine thing was it to se the diuine woul-
 des of our predecessours, the which sith
 Tullius Hostilius, vnto Quintus Cin-
 cinatus dictatour, and sith Cincinnatus
 vnto Lyncinos, which were of the Sal-
 lans and Marcians, there was neuer
 Consult at Rome, but he coulde do some
 maner of offyce or occupaciō, wherewith
 thei were occupied whan they office in
 the Senate was ended. Some coulde
 paynte pictures or other flatte woorkes.
 Other coulde graue images and possy
 in wood or earthe, or other thynges, or
 coulde worke in syluer, and other met-
 als: and other redde in scholes. In il-
 the wise that the haly senate myghte
 chole none, but yf he were sith knoweth
 in some maner handy craftes. I do finde
 in the annales all that is aboue sayed:
 and if I lye, I do giue me to the flames
 of Vulcan. And there was an ancient
 lawe,

lawe,

MARCVS

lawe, that a myllet, a smythe, a baker,
or a popnt maker, myght not bee a Se-
natour, bycause men of the saied occu-
pacions wer commonly taken with de-
ceytes and gyles. Than regarde the
maner and change of tyme, and the cor-
ruption of customes, that .CCC. yeres
every man trauayled for the renowne
of Rome, and this. viii. C. yeres every
man slepeth to the sleaunder of Rome.
Other thynges I fynd in the saied an-
nales worthie of etern memorie, the pe-
ple of Rome haupng .iiii. peryllous
warres togyther (yong Scipio against
the Deniens, Cuncta agaynst the Cap-
ens, Metellus agaynst Alexander of
Macedonie, and an other Metellus his
brother agaynst the Celtiberes of Spain)
the lawe beyng so sore kepte, that none
shoulde be taken from the misterie and
office that he occupied, and the sena-
tours haupng extreme necessitee of mes-
sengers to sende to the warres; when
the senators had gon thre daies about
with the cerlors of Rome, thei coulde
not fynde one ydell man to be sent forth
with their letters. I wepe for loye, that
I haue of this antique felicitie; and I
moutne for compassion of the myserie
nowe

AVRELIVS.

nowe beyng. It is a confusſion to ſay,
but I wil ſaie it: Twenty yeres I had
offyce in the ſenate, and it is .x. yeres
ſythe I haue ruled the empire, whiche is
xxx. in al. In the which ſeaſon I ſwere
by the goddes immortal, I haue cau-
ſed to whyppe, caſte in welles, to bury
quicke, to hange, to pricke, and to ba-
nyme mo than. xxx. M. vacaboundes,
and. x. M. ydell women. Than what
difference is ther betwene that life and
this deathe, that glozie and this paine,
that golde and this ordure, that anthe
Romain worke and this our preſent in-
uentye ſe ydelnes of Rome?

In the lawes of the Lacedemoniens
this was written in the table of the idel
people: We commaund as knyges, we
pray as ſeruautes, we teache as phy-
loſophers, and admonyſhe as fathers,
that the fathers ſhall fyrſt teache their
children to labour the fieldes, where by
trauayl they may liue, and not brought
bp in places, where by idelnes they may
be loſte. And that lawe ſayth farther-
more: If that yong people obeye not as
yonge, we wyll that the aged people do
correcte and puniſhe them as aged, And
in caſe that the fathers be negligent to
come

M A R C V S

commaunde them, or that they be dys-
bedient: We commaunde the prince that
to be diligent to chastise them.

Certaynly these wordes are worthy
to be noted: wherby I ygurge the kyng
deserued eternall memozy for his per-
son, and the said realm perpetual peace
in the common welthe. O Rome, what
dost thou? why regardest thou not the
lawes of the Lacedemoniens, whiche
with their frendly customes, doth mock
thy brutall byces? Sleepest or wakest?
O Rome thou wakest all the world to
leauel wete traualles, and sleepest in va-
lunte idelnesse. Thou atteste of enne-
mies, and thou carelesse art drowned in
flouth and idelnesse. Than syt he that
they that been farre of, do waketh the,
thou oughtest to awaken them that
thou kepest with the. I would speake
to all thein together of my palatys, and
longe agoe I wylled so to dooe, but the
multitude of straunge businesse some-
time causeth a man to forgeat his owne.

The firste booke of the prophet
marcus the euangelist. The firste booke
of the euangelist. The firste booke of the
euangelist. The firste booke of the euangelist.

Of the petillous living of them that
haunt the court continually.

Capitulo. xliii.

THus the emperour toynd these
wordes to that he had said: **A**gain
by thinges I have sen, and of cre-
pyble persons I have herde, whiche me
semed to be yll, and none of them good.
Specially one, whiche offenderh the god-
des, selandereth the worlde, peruer-
teth the common wealch, and endomas-
neth the person selfe: whitch is this cur-
sed slouth; and ydelbessie that distroiet
them that be good, and offerly bringeth
to naught them that be yll. Sometime
secretely, and halfe as in spote openly
I have admonished and rebuked some
of you, but I se it profite none of you.
On one side the pricke of reason constrain-
neth me to chastise you againe consyde-
ring the malice of mankynd, although
that it be prompte to yll, sometime I am
determined to suffer you. Many times
I woulde wyllyngly chastise you as chil-
dren, but I do refraine it, Consideryng
that ye are yonge and as yet know not
the wylls of the worlde: for ther holde
to styffely together the yll with the yll,

MARCVS.

and among them make so great a leage
of vices with the vices, that there be
many that do begile thre them selfe to
be begyled, and that whan we escape
fro a lictell wyle, and knowe the begy-
ler, wethinke that we are begyled all
ready with other great wyles. I haue
maruailous gret compassion of you my
seruauntes, speakyng to you as a lord;
and to you my children speakyng as a
father, for to se you all the day enight
wandryng throug Rome a losse per-
sons: and that worde of all is, I per-
ceiue that ye do not perceiue your owne
perdition. What greater beastlyneste
can there be, than to se you wander like
fooles from house to house, fro tauerne
to tauerne, from one gasing to another,
fro strete to strete, fro place to place, fro
play to play, fro reuelers to reuelers.
And that more is, that ye knowe not
what ye desyre, nor what ye woulde,
where ye go, nor whens ye come, what
pleaseth you, or what displeaseth you;
what is profitable or losse vnto you.
Nor ye remembre not, that ye wer once
reasonable menne, and that ye lyue as
wylde folke among men, and after that
die as bynt beastes, fro whens were ye
that

AVRELIUS M

What this cometh? The cause is the de-
 sire of beastly mownges, not resisting
 the desires of the lust of youth, and as
 have al not applying your myndes and
 wylles to be well occupied. Take hede
 amonge you of my countrie, and forgeat
 not this. I have ye no thought but to
 seeke newe pastymes, and to borrowe cues
 by day. No man, of what condition so
 ever he be, except he haunt feaces of ac-
 tues, or other learning in some ordinary
 cretyple, shall haue his body lustie and
 his spierite quicke: but shall be adloyed
 in all other thynges, and wander from
 herte to herte, as a barabounde. The
 heart of man is noble, and hath power
 continually for all actes, and all pasty-
 mes of the bodie, and yet in thre daies
 it is auoyed of hym selfe alone, so that
 with hym can not rest one labodable cre-
 tyeple. Lyke as I am emperour of all
 the worlde, so it is reason, and must ne-
 des be, that I haue folke of al natiens
 in my palais. And suche as the pryue
 is, suche shall be his householde: and as
 his house is, so shall his court be: and
 as the countie is, so shall the hole empyre
 be. For this cause a kyng oughte to be
 myghty hounte: his house well ordered
 : and

MARCVS. I. V. A.

and ruled, his officers well learned, and
his counsellors well kepte in awe.
good tyfe dependeth their good lyues,
and consequently the pill lyues.
nation leaue in their particular schoo-
les. The Sircians, in Babylon: the Por-
tugals in Doakes: the Indies in Olimpe:
the Caldees in Thebes: the Grekes in
Athenes: the Hebrewes in Belye: the
Latines in Samie: the frenche men in
Diliaunce: the Spaniards in Bades:
and thei al togither in Rome. The best
successefull schoole of all the world is the
person, the house, and court of a prince.
As we emperours do say, the same wyll
our subiectes saie: as we do, they wyll
doe: that we forsake they will leaue:
we lese our selues, they will lose their
selues: yf we wyll, they wyll wyll:
and finally our wealth, is their wealth:
and our harme, is their harme. Truly
the prince is bounde to kepe his owne
persone honestly and well beseeue, his
house and counsellors so well ruled, that all
they that shall see it, may haue desire to
followe and do thereafter: and that all
they, that here thereof, may desire to
it. Take ye hede, and let vs take hede
haue ye in mynde, and leaue ye haue in
mind:

AVRELIYS. M

mynde: that they, whiche be of strange
landes, gopting through strange landes
into strange landes, by their great tra-
uailes commyng to haue and demaund
socout and remedy of vs, may haue no
cause to reposite any sclanders of our pi-
ciousnes. What thyng more monstrous
can bee noyled among men, than
that they shoulde come and complaine
of the theues of their countreys, to the
theues of my courte? What greater
shame and inconueniencie can bee, than
to demaund Iustyce of their murderers,
of the mankyllers of my court & house?
What crueltie were so cruel, as to com-
plaine of the baraboundes of their lan-
des, to the slouthfull and ydell folke of
my house? What thyng can bee more
shamefull, than to come to accuse them
that haue faced yf of emperours, before
them: that enery daie blasphem the
goddess? What thyng can be more inhu-
mane, than to come to aske iustice on
him, that hath transgressed but ones,
of them that neuer did godd wykes?
Cruelly in suche case the poore men shuld
retourn with their ignorance begyled,
and we shoulde tary with our cruel ma-
lice shamed of men, and culpable before

Ilili god.

god. And howe many small matters doe
we chastise in men of small reputation,
which without breaking of Justice we
myght forbear: and howe many great
thynges do the goddes suffer in the by
princes and lordes, the which not with
out Justice, they maie greuouely pun
nysh. And by that cruel men as cruel,
can pardon nothing: and the goddes ple
asurfull scarcely wyl chastise any thing.
Yet for al this, I wold that none should
despyue hym selfe, for though the god
des forbere their iniuries, yet they leaue
them not unpunished, by straunge Iu
dices. The goddes ben in their chastise
mentes as he that giveth a blowe to an
other, the byer that he listeth his hand,
the greater is the stroke in the cheek
by semblable wyse, the more they do
they forbere our synnes, the more a fiew
warde they do hurte vs with peines.
Truely I haue seen the goddes diuersly
punyshe synners to dyuerse persons forbear dy
uerse synnes a great whyle, but at the
last I haue seen them al unwaies cha
stised with one chastisement.

The first of these is the fact that the
 1911
 census of the United States shows that
 the population of the United States
 has increased by more than 50 per
 cent since 1870. This increase has
 been due to a number of causes,
 but the most important of them is
 the fact that the birth rate has
 increased. This is due to a number
 of causes, but the most important
 of them is the fact that the
 birth rate has increased.

Some themperout wold haue theim
of his courte to lyue. Capit. xrv.



It is that the goddes haue
ordeined and my fatal de-
stinies haue permitted,
that I shuld be chosen em-
perour (not to slouthfull)
I haue laboured al that I
myght, to visite the Empire: ye lyttell
pouge folkes that are here, were gyuen
to me of your fathers, for to nouryshe
you in my palais. And for you that are
brygger, I was desyred to receiue you,
in hope to haue gyftes and rewardes,
and other I did chuse to do me seruice.
The intencion of the fathers, whā they
bring their children to the court of pri-
res, is to put them from dalliance of
theyr friendes, and banyshe them from
the wantonnesse of their mothers. And
me semeth it is well done, for the chy-
dren from their youthe oughte to gyue
them selfe to trauayle, whereby they
ought to lyue and resyste the dissauour
and falles of fortune. Ye are not come
from your countreys to learne the vices
of Rome, but to learne many good ma-
ners

Thus ends

ners that are in Rome, and leaue the pl
maners of your landes. Al that do not
this, and forsake trauayle: giue them
selfe to very ydelnesse. The myserable
Rome hath more neede of labourers for
to labour, than of lordes and habitan
tes, Barretiers, that will passe the time
in rest and pleasures. I sweare to you,
that not for wearyng the armes with
the crafte of weayng, and the syngers
with spinning, the bordell houses now
a daies are full of ydel women, than
the churches of good priestes. And I
sweare agayne, that easilier may be
founde. x. Eq. yll women in Rome to
serue in pleasure of vyces than. x. Eq.
good men to serue in the churches. I
praise you who sleeth the marchauntes
in hys wares? Who dispoyleth waitefa
tyng men and pilgrimes on the moun
tains? who pryeth the lockes and brea
keth honest mens doores and wyndo
wes? who robbe by strength the churches?
but these lecherous theues, why
thei wyl not labour by daie, but dispose
them to rob by night. O Rome, what
harmes come to the for one onely euill?
Who hath fylled Italy so full of idle
people, the palais so full of vnable peo
sons,

fons, the mountaines so full of sheues,
 the rauidenes so full of women, and eue-
 ry place so full of vacabundes? But one,
 the canker of ydelnes and slothe, whi-
 che destroyeth the good customes more
 than the winde and waters thinne olde
 womewalles. Beleue me one thyng,
 for I wrote that I sale trouble therein,
 that the crafte of weauyng, wherein all
 the naughtye vilanyes are wrought, and
 the seede of all unhapp-
 ynes, the dyng of all goodnesse, the
 falling of all them that be sayll, and
 the awakynge and prouokynge of all
 these, is but this soule vyce of slothe
 and ydelnesse. And more ouer I sale,
 that there is no vyce among all vyces,
 that breedeth so great a fyre, and cau-
 seth so continuall a sykenesse of slepe
 among aged folke, and that putteth
 good folke in so great peryll, and doth
 so muche damage to them that be yll,
 as doth ydelnesse. Who is it, that cau-
 seth sedition amonge the people, and
 selaundereth in realmes, but they that
 rest and doo nothing: because they
 would eate the loode gotten by the sweat
 of them that labour? Who is it, that
 synneth neuer inuencions of tributes

I. v.

and

and forayne exactions, but ydell men
the which bycause they will not worke
with theyr handes, fynde profyte with
infinite exactions. who maketh dis-
cencion betwene neyghbours but ydell
folke? they deuide theyr ylle amonge
theyr neyghbours, bycause they occu-
pie not theyr forces in good workes, nor
refrayne theyr tounge to clatter of o-
ther mens lyues? who imagyneth in
these daies so many malices in Rome,
the whiche was neuer harde of our fa-
thers, nor redde in our booke: but va-
cabundes, that neither applie nor sette
theyr wyttes aboute nothyng els, but
thynke how to endamage other? The
emperour that coulde banyshe all these
ydell persons out of his empyre, myght
well auant hym selfe to haue oppressed
all the vices of the worlde. I wold it
pleased the immortall goddis, that of
so many triumphes, that I haue had
of straungers, occupied in good exerci-
ses, that I had sent one of the vacabun-
des of Rome dyspued out of all houses.
There was an auncient lawe, none
myght be taken and receiued for a ci-
tizen in Rome, but he were first exami-
ned by the Censure. In the tyme of
Cato

AVRELIVS.

Gato Censorius when any woulde be a
 citizen of Rome, this examination was
 made of hym: He was not demaun-
 ded, of whens he was, nor what he
 was, nor whens he came, nor wherefore
 he came, nor of what name or auncient
 soke he came: but onely thei toke his
 handes betwene theys, and if thei felt
 theim soft and smothe, forthwith as
 an ydell vacabunde man they dyspat-
 ched and sent hym awaie: and yf thei
 found his handes hard and ful of hard
 knoetes, by and by they admitted hym
 a citizen and dweller in Rome. Also
 when any officers toke any yll doers,
 and put theim in prison, that was cal-
 led Carcerine, instede of informacion
 on the yll doer thynge that they toke hede
 of, was thei handes, whiche yf they
 had bene as a labourers handes, and a
 workman though his crime were grei-
 vous, yet his chastysment was miti-
 gate, And more easie: and yf the un-
 happy personer chaimed to have ydell
 handes, for a lyttell faute he woulde
 have sharpe punishment. It hath ben
 an olde saying: He that hath good
 handes, must nedes have good custome.
 I saie, I chastysed neuer a labouring
 man,

man, but I was sorpe for it: nor I ne-
 ver caused to whyppe a bacabunde, but
 I was gladd of it. I wyll tell you
 more of this Catho Cenforius, whiche
 was greatly feared. For even as chi-
 dren in the scholes hering their maister
 comming in, tenne to thei bones; So
 when Catho went through the streets
 of Rome, every bodye went to thei
 worke. A right happie baron, before
 whome the people feared more to be pe-
 del, than to be pill before any other.
 When beholde ye at this houre, what
 force vertue hath, and howe valiaunte
 a vertuous man is, saying that all the
 world feared Rome onely, for her wya-
 thynes in armes: and all Rome feared
 Catho, onely for his vertues. The ad-
 ventures of men are so dyvers, and the
 suspecte fortune gyueth so many suer-
 thwart turnes, that after that a great
 space she hath gyuen great pleasures,
 incontinent we are cpyed to heu subtyll
 trauailes of repentance. O happie
 Catho Cenforius, who with such as
 have folowed his males, are nowe set
 free the abatements of fornamt: When
 he shal wyll have glorie in this lyfe,
 and attayne glorie after deathe, and be
 beloued

AVRELIVS.

beloued of many, and feared of all: let
 him be vertues in doing of good wor-
 kes, and deceiue no man with vayne
 wordes. I sweare vnto you by the law
 of a man of worship, that if the goddes
 woulde accomplishe, my desyre, I had
 rather to bee Cato with the vertuous
 policies that he vsed in Rome, than to
 be Scipio, with the abundance of blood,
 that he shedde in Affricke: All we
 knowe well, that Scipio had a great
 fame in beating downe of cities, and
 cutting innocentes throtes, and Cato
 hath attayned eternall memorie in re-
 forminge the people, pardonyng tres-
 passours, and teaching ignorant folke.
 Than ye maie all see, If I haue good
 reason, more to desyre to bee Cato, to
 the profyte of many than to be Scipio,
 to the preiudice of so many. To my
 frendes, these wordes I haue saied by-
 cause ye maie see, that our predeces-
 sours, somme in their owne landes, o-
 ther in straunge landes, some beyng
 young, and some olde, in theyr tymes
 had glorie in their persones, for them-
 selte: and for the worlde to come haue
 lesse no lesse memorie for their succes-
 sours and of spyrage. And we do all
 the

MARGVS

the contrary, I beynge emperour and
 lothe for to commaund any yll, and our
 officers for their interest do wors. And
 where as we are sette in diuers pleases
 by our vice, we fall hourely into di-
 uers myseries, and are noted to our
 great infamye. By the whiche occa-
 syon the iust goddes for our vniust wor-
 kes, gyuing iust sentence, commaunde
 that we lye with suspicion, dye with
 shame, and to be hurted with forgetful-
 nes, neuer to be hadde in memorie.
 Than you of my court take good heed,
 and prynces wolle my wordes in your
 myndes: for who so euer I se or fynde
 ydell from henceforth, I discharge hym
 out of my seruyce. ye that bee learned
 make wyte and rede, ye that be men of
 armes and knyghtes, exccepte you in
 seates of warre, ye that be officers, oc-
 cupie you in your offices. And take
 this for certayne, that yf ye take not
 this for a warning and monition, that
 I haue giuen you betwene you and me,
 the punishmentes that I shall gyue
 unto you, shall be openly. And to the
 entent that ye haue it better in your
 memorie, and to be a doctryne to prync-
 ces hereafter to come, this present pro-
 crife

AVRELIUS

and remembrance I have written
in all tongues, and sette it in the hyge
Capptoll with many other of my wy-
tynges. The godd is be keepers of you
and also they defend and kepe me from
yll fortunes, and my saduentures.

Of a maruailous and fearfull mon-

ster that, was sene in Sicille,
and of his wytynges

Capitulo. xvi.



At the pere of the founda-
tion of Rome. . . .
and . . . of the rage of
Marcus the emperour,
it. . . . before he toke pos-
session of the empyre, the

the date of the month Sextilis, whiche
the now is called Auguste, about the
tyme of the sonne setting, in the realme
of Syrac, than called Trinacrie, in a
citic called Bellune, on the see hole na-
med Paletme, a portte of the see, there
chaunced a thyng right perillous to
them that sawe it, and no lesse feareful
to them that shall here it nowe. As
they of Bellune or Paletme were than
celebratyng a feast with great ioye

for the gladnes that these pirates had
 overcome the army of the Numidians,
 and had taken. x. of the best shippes, and
 cast forth persons into the see, because
 at that tyme they were enuyned the
 to other, and for the pill wythes they
 bydde were shewed the great passions
 that passed among them. And also it is
 the custome, the thyng that these pirates
 get on the see, they depart it among
 them all, whan they come home. And
 whan they come to lande, they spende
 that merrily, that they gatte with great
 trouble. It is a thyng well to be no-
 ted, howe all good and vile vertues are
 applyed. The good men haue great de-
 sire to the triumphes, and conquests
 men to the lurre and wyning.
 Thus men ought to be beloued, though
 shortly after they ought to be abhor-
 red. And also they ought to be abhor-
 red, as though shortly after they ought
 to be beloued. Thus than the gouer-
 nours of the sated cite, commaunded
 all the sated shippes to bee sequestred
 into theyr owne handes, to the intent
 that they shoulde not bee solde, nor
 the covetous people to haue the ad-
 vantage in the byenge of them. The
 cause

cause was, for the custome of the men of
the yles was, that all thinges shulde be
brought together, vnto the ende of the war,
or at leste tyl they had peace. This was
a wile lawe: For many tymes is made
severalte appointmentes betwene great
armies, and not all onely for the auncie
ent barred, but also for lacke of ryches
to satisfie the present domages. Than
as al the people were withdrawen into
theyr houses aboute supper tyme, for it
was sommer, sodenly there came a mon
ster into the myddes of the citie, after
this maner: He seemed to be of two cubi
tes of height, and he had but one eye,
his heed was all pilled, so that his sens
myghte be sente: He had none eares, but
that a litle of his necke was open, wher
by it seemed that he heard: He had two
crooked hornes as a goat: His right arme
was longer than the left, his handes
were like hors fete, he had no throt, his
necke was egall with his heed: his shul
ders were as pyche, his breste and stom
acke was all rough of heate, his face
was lyke a man, save it hadde but one
eye, in the myddes of his forehead, and
had but one nosegayll, from the waist
downward he was not sente, for it was

covered, besette on a chariot with
 wheles, whereat were two Lyons faste-
 ned togyther before, and two beares
 behynde: and it coulde not be determi-
 ned, wherof the charotte was made,
 but there was noo difference in fa-
 shion thereon, and other that were
 commonlye: In the myddes of the
 sayed chariotte was a caubron lyke
 table with two eares, wherin the sayed
 monster was: and therfore it was seene
 but fro the gyrdellstebe upwarde.
 He went about in the cite fro gate to gate,
 a long space casting out spercles of fyre.
 The feare was so greatte, that dyver-
 sye women with chyldre were delivred
 with great perill, and other that were
 weake harted fell in a swoone. And
 the people greatte and small, lesse and
 more, ranne to the temples of Juppiter,
 Mars, and Vhebus, making importu-
 nate cries and clamours. And the same
 season all the sayed wyrates were lod-
 ged in the gouernours palapes namyd
 Solyn. He was of the nacion of Capu-
 an, and there was all the cycheffe kepte.
 And whan this monster had bene out
 all the cytie with his chariot, than the
 Lyons and beares broughte hym to the

AVRELIVS A M

palace, where the priates were, and
being very nigh to the gates that were
fast closed, the monster cut an eare of one
of the lions, and with the blood thereof
he wrote these letters. *ix. xi. s. ix. xi. xi.*
These letters were a proofe to all the
of hygge spirite, to geue declaracion of
them: and there were mo declaracions
then there were letters. But finallye a
woman disinterested, or contrary, a sor-
cerer, that was had in great reputaci-
on for her craftes, made the very decla-
racion of the saied letters, saying thus.
*ix. reddite. xi. aliena. s. si vultis. ix. pro-
pria. xi. in pace. ix. possidere.* Whiche all
together is to saie, render that pertey-
neth to other, yf that ye wyll in peace
possesse your owne. Surely the priates
were soore affrayde of that dreadfull com-
mandement: and the woman was greet-
ly playfed for her hygge declaracion.
Than forthwith the same nyght the
monster wente into a hygge mountayne
called as than Iavicia, and ther by the
space of thre days was in the syghte of
all the citie: and in that season the lions
made great roying and howling, and
the beares and monster kasse out great
starfull flames. And all that season

M A R C V S

there nextes appered bynde in the ap-
 no beaste in the felde, and all the men
 offered great sacryfices to the goddes,
 in such wyse that they brake the very
 nes of their handes, and fete, and offered
 theyr bloode, to se if they myght appease
 theyr goddes. After the thre days pas-
 sed, suddenly appered a clowd blacke and
 derke vppon the erthe, and it began to
 thundred and lyghten, with a great ery-
 quake, so that many houses fell in the
 cite, and many of the dwellers and ci-
 tizens dyed. And than suddenly ther
 came a flame of fyre frome the monster,
 and brent all the palays, where the said
 pyrates were, and the rycheles that
 were in it, so that all was consumed in
 it, yea the very stones: and the damage
 was so greate, that there fell mo then
 ii. m. houses. And there dyed as good
 as x. m. persons. And in the same place
 on the toppe of the mountayne, where
 as the monster was, theemperour com-
 maunded to edifie a temple to the god
 Iupiter in memory of the same. Of the
 whiche temple theemperour Alexander,
 haung warre with them of the realm,
 made a stronge castell.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE OF THE ROMANS

AVRELIVS.

What befell to a citie of Rome in the
tyme of this emperour Mar-
cus. Cap. xxviii.

In the same tyme that this ad-
venture chaunced, in that
citty, there was dwelling in
the same citty a Romayne
named Anthygone, a lorde
of noble bloude, and somewhat entred
in age; and aboute two yere before, he,
his wyfe, and a daughter of his were
banished Rome, and not his sonnes. The
occalpon was, There was an auncient
laudable custome, sith Quintus Cincin-
natus dictatour, that two of the auncient
senatours togither shulde goe with
the censur newly created, and the old,
in the month of December for to visite
all Rome; and they to call every Ro-
mayne a part alone, shewing hym the
rites tables of theyr lawes, and particu-
lar decrees of the senate, demaunding
of theym, if they knewe any neyghbour
in theyr quarter, that had broken these
lawes. And yf they dyd, it shulde be in-
formed to the senate. And there all tog-
ther to ordaine punishment, accordyng

MARCVS V

to the dyuersitee of the fautes that thei
had committed. But the fautes com-
mitted that presente yere, they myghte
not chastise, but to aduertise them to a-
mend afterward. And all such as were
bynes warned, and in the nexte visitati-
on founde apyll vnamended, so be ge-
ruously punished, and sometyme damp-
ned. These were the wordes of the law
in the .v. table and the .v. chapter. It
is ordeyned by the holy senare, by con-
sente of blissfull men, receyving the an-
cient colonies, that if men beynge men in
one yere do trespas, the men as men to
the saied yere shall dissimule and for-
beare: but yf thei that be yll as yll doe
not amende, they that be good, as good
shall chastise them. Also the saied lawe
saythe, the spirite fautes are suffered, by-
cause they are commytted with weake
ignorance: but yf thei contynue therein,
that they be chastysed bycause they yll
someth of slouth and malice. This in-
quisition was euer made in the mo-
neth of December, bycause that soone
after in the moneth of January the of-
fices of Rome were bypured. And it
was reason, that they shoulde knowe to
whome they shoulde geue or denye the

AVRELIVS.

byguities, to content that good shulde
not be chosen in steede of yll, nor the yll
men of good. The particuler cause why
they banished the man and his wyfe
with their daughter was this: The se-
conde emperour of Rome August orde-
ned, that none shulde be so hardy to pis-
se at any doores of the temples: and Caly-
gula the. iiii. emperoure commaunded,
that no woman shuld gyue any rebukes
to hang aboute the peoples necke, to
heale the leues quartayne. And Caro-
calophne made a lawe, that no yong
man nor yong mayden shulde speake to
yether at the conduites of welles, wher
they fetched water, nor at the tynes,
wher they washed theyr clothes, nor at
the ouens where they baked breade by-
cause all the yong people of Rome that
were wyld and wanton, vanne euer shy-
ther. So it befell, that as the consules
and tribunes bysited the quarter called
Mount Celio, there was a dweller na-
med Antigonus accused, that he was
sene pyllyng agaynst the temple walle
of Iunus: and his wyfe was accused,
that she had sold rebukes for fener quar-
tynes: and like wise his daughter was
accused, that she was sene at the con-
duytes

M A R C V S . I V .

byptes, epuers, and ouens, Crying and
 laughing with yong men of Rome, And
 whiche was a great shame to the magi-
 dens of Rome. Than the censures being
 the yll order, that they had found in the
 house of the saied Anthigone by the co-
 gesters, by due examinacon, being war-
 ned afore, they were banished into the
 yles of Sicill, for as longe as it shoulde
 please the senate. And lyke as in edifi-
 ces, sumptuous and of greaste est-
 mation, one stone is not decayde or wy-
 shed out without shakynge or mouynge
 of an nother; euen lyke wyse is it in the
 chaunces of men, for commonly one vn-
 happnes chaunceth not, but an nother
 foloweth. And I say this bicause Anthi-
 gone lost not only his honor and welth,
 but also he was banished, and besyde
 that by the tremblyng of the erthe his
 house fel down, and slew a welbeloued
 daughter of his. And at the while that
 this was done at Rome, and that that
 basel of the monster in Cisle, Emarch the
 emperour was in the warres agaynst
 the Arrogans, and there he receyued a
 letter from Anthigone, wherein was re-
 herced his banishynge, wherof the Em-
 perour had greatte compassion, and to

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come

AVRELIYS.

comforte hym, sent him an other letter,

Of a grete pestilence that was in Italye in this emperours tyme.

Cap. xxviii.

The yere after the deathe of Aurhony the meke, father in lawe to Marcus Aurelius, and father to Faustine, there fel a pestilence in Italye; and it was one of the .v. great pestilences amonge the Romaine people. This mortalitie durd the space of .vi. yeres, and it was universal thoroughout al Italye, to the great damage and feare of all the Romaines; for they thought the goddes wold have discomfited them, for some displeasure that they had done against the. There dyed so many, as wel of great estate, as ryche and poore, greates and small, yong and olde, that the wyrtens had les trauail to write the small number of them that were left a lyue, than to write the multitude of them that were dead. Like as when a great buyldyng wold falle, first there falleth some stone: In lykelye the Romaines never had

no good penitence in thei time, but first
 thei wer thretned with some token signe
 or prodigie fro heuuen. Two yere be-
 fore that Hannibal entred into Italy, in
 an euening when the weather was cleere
 and fayre sodainly it rained bludde and
 milke in Rome. And it was declared by
 a woman, that the bludde betokened cru-
 ell warre, and the milke a mortall pe-
 nite. When Scilla returned from
 Champayn, to put Marius his enemy
 out of Rome, his men at warre a night
 sawe in a night a fountaine that ran
 bludde, and who so enterd was drownded ther-
 in, feared to be paysoned with venime.
 At the which the prodigie folowed, that
 of .x. .m. and .l. .m. dwellers in Rome,
 what with the pest that spread with the
 sweede, and other consumed by pesti-
 lence, were consumed with Scilla, and
 of them that fled with Marius, of the
 said great multitude of Romans, there
 abode at this no more. .x. .m. persons,
 certainly had neuer received so great
 damage in .vi. .c. yeres before as they
 dyde by their owne people. Of
 all the countries were neuer so cruell a
 gapest strange lander, as the Romans
 were then against their owne people
 lan

AVRELIVS.

landes. And this seemeth to be true, by
cause the same daie that Scilla, passed
through Rome with his bloody sworde,
a captain of his said to him: Sir Scil-
la, if we flee them that beate armout in
the fieldes, and them that beate no ar-
mout in their houses, with whom shal
we lyue? I conlure the by the hye god-
des, sith we be borne of women, leat vs
not fle the women: and sith we be men,
leat vs not fle the men. Thou thyrc-
hest that in sleayng all the Romaines,
to make a common welthe of beastes of
the mountaynes. Thou entrest with a
cote to defende the common welth, and
to put out the tyrantes that destroy the
common welthe, and we do remayne ty-
rantes our selues. No mine understan-
ding that capptayne merited as great
glory for the good wordes that he spake
as Scilla dyd merite chastisement for
the traittie that he dyd. This we haue
said, because that etc. suche damages
dyd fall, there appered before certayne
prodiges and tokens. No lesse token
was shewed before the mortallitee that
fell to the yune of this good emperour,
the whiche was a feareful dyng. The
tale was so: On a day as the emperour
was

MARCVS

was at the temple of the virgin Vesta
 les, todaynly there entred in two hog-
 ges, and ranne about his fete, and there
 fell down deade. And on an other day
 as he came from the highe Capitol, for
 to haue gone out at the gate Salarie,
 he sawe two kyttes ioyninge together
 with their talantes: and so fell downe
 dead at the emperours fete. And with
 in a shorte while or season after, as the
 fated emperour came fro huntinge, his
 houndes rennyng at a wyld beaste, as
 he gaue two greihoundes that he loved
 well, water to drynke with his owne
 handes, suddenly they fell downe dead
 at his fete. Than he remembryng the
 swyne, the kyttes, and the greihoundes
 dead so suddenly, he was greatly dys-
 maied, and assembled all his priestes,
 magiciens, and diuines, demaundyng
 what thei saied to the prodigies. And
 thei by those thynges passed, iudged the
 dede present, and determined, that wher
 in two yeres the goddess would send gret
 and greuous punishmentes to Rome.
 Than within a shorte while after there
 began a war against the Carthes, wher
 by there fell the yere after great faun-
 and pestilence amonge the Romans.

THIS

AVRELIVS.

This pestilence came with sores vnder
the arme pittes, so that all the senate
 fled about, and the emperour alone abode
 still in the capitoll. When the ayre be-
 gan to be so corrupt, that though he es-
 caped the pestilence, yet he was vexed
 with hote fevers. Wherefore he was
 faine to leue Rome, and went into Cham-
 payne: and specially in the cite of Na-
 ples he made his abode during the time
 that the pestilence was in Rome.

Thowe Marcus answered his phy-
 sicians that would haue him leaue
 his studie. *Capitulo. xxix.*

The emperour being in the faled
 cite of Naples, where as other
 sought pastime to conserue theyr
 lines, this emperour occupied him selfe
 in his booke to augment science. A man
 coulde do hym no better seruice, than to
 seeke to get hym a newe booke: not suche
 as was wrytten in his tyme, but suche
 as were forgotten for aeger. This em-
 perour was not onely a louer of olde
 and antyke bookes, but also of ancient
 stories, and set very gret store by them.
 And he thus beinge in the cytie spoke
 and

and here yllat ease, there was brought
 to hym out of a rille of Asa called He-
 lis by certayne Hebrewes, a booke to re-
 ten in Hebrew: and he toke such a ple-
 sure in that booke, that ofte tymes he
 wolde leaue his meate and go to studye:
 and for all that he was in his house
 uer, he wolde not leaue to reade, for all
 that his phisitiks warned hym, and his
 frendes praised hym, and they that were
 about hym, counsailled hym, and de-
 manded him, why he left to procure the
 helth of his person in so muche redyng.
 He answered: By the goddis that we
 honour I confute you, and for the frend-
 shipp that is betwene vs, I pray you let
 me a lone: ye knowe well, that such as
 are of a delicate bloudde, haue not so
 much sollicitude as the rustical people,
 that haue harde synewes and be of a
 more harder complexion. The ma-
 ner they of cleere vnderstandyng haue
 nedde of other medicines, and to be hea-
 led with other spyttoppes than they of
 grosse vnderstandyng: This is the dif-
 ference that I haue of either of theim.
 The ydeote kepeth diere from bookes,
 and resteth on his meate, and the wise
 manne abhorreth meate, and draweth
 hym

AVRILLIUS

hym to his booke: If they knewe that
 knowe not, what thyng knowlage is.
 I sweare to you they shoulde see what
 simpler more the liuel knowlage that
 a wilsman hath, than the great ryches
 of the ryche man. For the miserable
 ryche person, the more that he encreaseth
 in rycheffe, the more he diminisheth in
 frendes, and groweth in enemies to
 his damage. And he that is wittie, the
 wiser that he is, the better he is belov-
 ed of them that be good, and feared of
 them that be ill for his profite. One of
 the thynges, wherein I holde my selfe
 moste bound to the goddes in this, that
 they haue caused me to compass the
 time as I haue doen, the whiche is not
 a littell gyfte for a man to liue in this
 world. I saie it is, because I haue
 had great compassion of the poore, that
 be verie poore, of wyddowes, of them
 that be sorowfull and unhappy, and of
 dybbellins. But without compa-
 sion. I haue had greauest compassi-
 on, of them, that lacke knowelage.
 for the goddes making men ignorant
 by naturalitie might haue made them
 goddes by cunnyng and knowlage; and
 as slowfull men are tamed and made
 leue

MARCVS

lesse than men, by their negligence. It
 certainly blessed is he, that is not con-
 tent to be a man, but yf he procure to be
 more than a man, by his vertue. And
 cursed is that man, that knoweth he not
 to be a man, but maketh hym selfe lesse
 than a man by his vice. By the iudge-
 ment of all philosophypers, there is but
 one, that is the fyrste cause: whiche is
 one god immortall, and yf there be dy-
 vers goddes in the heuens, it is because
 there are diuers vertues in the earth.
 And in the worlde, that is passe, when
 the simple men wer seruantes and bond
 men, and the good men rulers and go-
 uernours, thei were than so esteemed, be-
 cause they were known and renoumed
 for their good workes in their life. So
 that they were holden and reputed as
 goddes after their death. This is the
 right reward, that commeth of vertue.
 It is a thyng consonant to reason, that
 they that be good among so many yll in
 this lyfe, shoulde be greatly honoured
 amonge the goddes after their death.
 Ye are not well contente with me, be-
 cause I am alway readyng: But I am
 worse contente with you, because I ne-
 ver see booke in your handes: ye thinke

A V R E L I N S.

A great traualle, to a sicke man to rede,
 and I expure it a very peccious thing,
 for to holle man, to rede and be poore.
 to tale, my bedding is cause of my sea-
 son waite in my fleche: and I saie,
 that I shoulde laboureth greace peccious-
 ness. For I shoulde profite my bones,
 for to man haue compassion of my sea-
 son. For I shoulde rather to be as a
 holle person, among wise men, than to
 be ignorant among men. I demand
 of you: a man, pithyng to
 be a man, and is not ferred, what vicer-
 tues betwene hym and other beastes?
 Foraynly, the beastes are more prosp-
 erous to labour the earth, than symple
 persons be, to leue the common welthe.
 A poore ore geueth his skynner to make
 shoon, his fleche to be eaten, and his
 strength to labour: and a poore symple
 shepe dothe profite, his flece and wolfe
 to make clothe, and his mylke to make
 chesse. But what profiteth a collyr beor
 man? Nothing, but offendeth the god-
 den, slandereth innocentes, easeth the
 widd of other, and is chief head of va-
 caboundes. For I shoulde be as I saie in my
 handes to do, I had rather put yse to
 a symple ore, than to a malicious beor.

MARCVS

For the beast liueth for the vtillitie of
 pers. without doyng damage to any
 other: and the simple pbeot man liueth
 to the damage of al other, and without
 profite to any person. Therefore thynke
 well, why I am not pleased with them
 that be ignoraunt, and loue them that
 be learned. Marke saye, what I shall
 shew you: That man semeth good, that
 is meke and gentill of condycion, soft in
 wordes, and restfull in his person, and
 graciously in conuersacion. And con-
 trarywise, that persone sore displeaseth
 me, that is sharpe of wordes, sore me-
 ned in his wordes, riotous in his con-
 dycion, and double of his promise,
 and hardhearted. Also I saye, that if
 any thyng wante in a wyse manne by
 nature, he supplyeth it by science, and
 he that is ignorant and foolish, if he
 wante discrecion, he supplyeth it with
 his malice. And truste surely, that a
 woorthy vertuous man thereby becom-
 meth wyse, and he is to bee trusted.
 And he that is of an another maner,
 beware of hym, for he gothe aboute to
 sell his malice. He that wyll begyle an
 other, the first thyng that he dooeth is,
 he sheweth hym selfe to bee symple and
 igno.

A VERELINE.

ignorant, yf or a man beyng in erchance,
make soone sprede abroad his malice;
the mother, and sister, wourne; frette
the clothe, and the canker wourne pers
with the bone, and flattroping men; bea
prie all the worlde.

Cap. xxx. **Cap. xxx.**



De salde emperour folow
ing his purpose, sayde
frendes be beholde, howe
great damage ignorance
doth to a king, and though
it be damageable to every

man, yet it is moche hurtfull to a prince,
whiche ought, not onely to be contente,
to knowe as muche as any other thyse
persone knoweth, but to knowe that e-
very man knoweth sythe he is forde o-
uer all other. To my iudgement, these
prynces are not chosen, that they should
eat more meate, than all other; nor to
be apparelled rycher than all o-
ther; nor to renne faster thanne all o-
ther; but with presupposicion, that
they ought to knowe more than all o-
ther. When a prince wyll reserue

his sensualitie, that he ought to regard
that his person be right honest, and to
membre this word, that is, The greater
that a prince is of power, above o-
ther, the more ought he to be better
above all other. For verily the grea-
test infamy is, to see a man most myghty
and most rich above all other, and
to be knowen an ideot, and lesse of know-
lege than other. At defautes in a gou-
nour may be borne false opinions, as
ignorance in a prince, as a decree of
silence, and a flesch bynde, and a
steer all persones, and a dispaynt
revenue, and a waste frendes, and ge-
neth have enemies of strange nation,
that more is drede, is finally damaged
his person, and sheweth every one.
¶ John Camille triumphed ouer the
frenchmen, the daie of his triumph he
made these wordes in the Capitall of
Rome, thou hast bene mother of all
wyse men, and dead as in all soules.
¶ These were wordes of wordes of his
eye a lord. And but if my remembrance
begge me, verily some was more
renowned for wyse persones, that came
together, than for the states of man,
that were sent from thence. And now

cient

AVRILVS.

sent Romaynes were more feared, for
 theyr tyfedom and knowlage, thā for
 their conquestes. All the enenies feared
 them more, than they feared them, that were ar-
 med with armes. For that cause Rome
 was neuer vanquished: and though
 theyr armies were denided and broken,
 yet they neuer lacked wyse men. It can
 not be said without teares, Rome is fal-
 len from the mooste height of her estate,
 not for faulte of money and armes, for
 to fight withall, but for lacke of wyse
 men, and perversus for to gouerne. Our
 fathers were like men, and we lesse
 like simple chyldren. All thynges that
 are desired of men: they attain by tra-
 uelle, sustayne with thought, and be-
 come free, with great annoyance. And
 the reason is this: There is nothing so
 good, nor so wel beloved, but the route
 of tyme, causeth vs to leaue it, and to
 despise and abhorre it, or to be weary
 thereof. This is the vayne vanitie of the
 world, and lost tyme lost: for with their
 long desires, they do refrayne their de-
 sires. They waite oftentimes attayne
 to theyr, and after they study how to ge-
 tethen agayne. And yet to them time

ther they lightnes, that that cost much
 che, they geue for a littell price. That
 that they loue at one tyme, they hate at
 an other: and that that they with great
 studie and labour haue attayned, with
 great fury they forgo. And me thinketh
 this is the ordinance of the goddis, that
 he that loueth, shall haue an ende: and
 it that is beloued, shall take an end: and
 the tyme that we are in, that ende. And
 it is reason, that the loue, wherwith we
 do loue, shall ende in lyke wyse. Thus
 our appetite is so dishonest, that in see-
 yng we desyre it, & in desyryng we pro-
 cure it, and in procuryng we attayn it,
 and in the attaynyng we abhorre it, and
 in the abhorryng, we leaue it: and then
 forthwith agayn, we procure an other
 thyng, and that newe procurynge, we
 abhorre agayne: In suche wyse, that
 whan we begyn to loue a thyng, then
 we fallc agayne to hate it, and in the
 fallyng to hate it, we begynne agayne
 to loue an nother thyng: So thus fr-
 ually, our lyfe dooeth ende, er our con-
 scyence dothe leaue vs. It is not thus of
 wysedome and knowlage, the whiche,
 if it ones entre into a mans hert, do con-
 selt hym to forget the trespasse that he
 toke

AVR ELIVS

take in the attaynyng thereof. For he hateth the tyme past as good: and enjoyeth with rightfull ioy, the tyme present, and hateth podelnes. Nor he is not content with that he knoweth, but inforceth his appetitt, to know more, louyng that other leaueth: and leauynge that other loueth. Finally he that is perfectly wyle, sporteth in this worlde with trauayle, and in trauaylyng in boies, is his rest. Wee haue not to sale of all thynges, but of that we seele of theim. For it is an other maner to speake by similitude of a stranger, and of our owne experience. And in this case I say, that though we hope of noo rewarde of the goddis, nor honour amonge menne, nor memoire of the worlde to come: yet am I right glad, to be all onely a philosopher, to se how gloriously the philosophers haue passed theyr time. I demaunde one thyng, whan myne vnderstandynge is haled in that I haue to do, and whan my memoire is troubled, in that I haue to determyne, and whan my bodye is compassed with dolours, and whan my harte is charged with thoughtes, and whan I am withoute knowledge, and whan I am set about with perils, where

can I be better accompanied than with
 wise men, or els residing among hokes.
 In hokes I fynde wysdom, whereby I
 maye leane: also there I fynde most be-
 nefite, whiche I maye solow: I fynde
 there prudence, to counsell me: I fynde
 suche as be sorrowful, with whome I maye
 wepe. I fynde thāt there I be merry, with
 whom I maye laugh: I fynde there sim-
 ple folke, at whom I maye sport: I fynde
 that is naught, whiche I maye leaue.
 And finally in hokes I fynde, how in pro-
 speritie, I ought to behave me, and how
 in aduersite I ought to guide me. Whom
 happy is that man, that hath well red.
 And yet more happy is he, that though
 he knoweth much, yet shalch upon roll
 sayle. And yf this bee true generally,
 than much more as is necessary, that he
 keepe the true waye, whiche governeth
 all other. It is a rule infallible, that a
 prince beyng wyse, can never bee sym-
 ply good, but very good: and the prince
 that is ignorant, can not be simply yll,
 but very yll. A prince, that is not well
 fortunare, his wysdoms maye greatly
 excuse hym to his people, of his misfor-
 tune given to hym by fortune. Whan a
 prince is greatly beloved of his subjects

A VERELINE.

He, and is vertuous of his person, than
 any man saith, if he have not good
 fortune: Will though our prince want
 good fortune, yet his kinde by vertue
 suruiue: and though he be not happy
 in his interest, yet at the least he shew
 his wisdom in the meane season:
 And though he fortune be denied by an
 enemy, yet at an other time, he succeed
 by his wisdom. And contrary wise,
 an unwise prince, and hated of his peo-
 ple, by euill fortune, cometh into great
 peril. For if he succeede in him in weighty
 matters, than in common it shal be
 said, it is by reason of the ignorance of
 him selfe, or by yll counsell of suche as
 be about him, and if goodnes succeede in
 him, it shal not be attributed by reason
 of his good gouernance, but that for-
 tune hath suffered it, and not by the cir-
 cumspect wisdom, that he hath had in
 the meane season, but that it was of the
 mercy, that the goddis had of him. When
 first it is thus, a vertuous and a worthy
 prince, in his owne times, ought secretly
 to be in hope, and openly to almon
 counsell with wise men. And in case,
 yll fortune will not permitt him, to
 take their counsailes, yet at the least

B. v.

be

M A R C V S

he shall recouer credence amonge his
subiectes. I wyll saye no more to you,
but I esteeme the knowlege of a wise per
sone so muche, that yf I knewe, that
there were shops of sciences, as there is
of other marchaundise, I will gyue at
that I haue, onely to lerne, that a wise
man learneth in one daye. Finally I say
that I will not glorie, that I ytell that I
haue lerned in one houre, for al the gold
in the worlde: And more glory haue I,
of the booke that I haue red, and of su
che workes as I haue written, than of
al the victories, that I haue had, or of
the realmes that I haue wonne.

What a villaine said to the senators
of Rome, in the presence of the em
perour. Capitulum xxi.

THis emperour, being sicke,
as it is aforesaid, on a day
as there were with hym di
uers phisicians and ora
tors, there was a purpose
moued among them, how greatly Rome
was chaunged, not all onely in edifi
ces but also in customes, and was full
of flatterers, and vnepeopled of menne,
that

that buche sale the trouble. When the
 emperor came: The sycke pere, that
 was counsell, there came a poore villayne
 from the river of Danubie, to aske ius-
 tice of the senat, against a censure, who
 hadde pueres extorcions to the people:
 and he had a small face, and great lips
 pes, and holowe eyes, his beere cut-
 ted, bare headed, his clothes of a por-
 tipes thynne, his coate of gottes beere,
 his gyrdell of buile rushes, and a wild
 eagle in his hand. It was a strange
 thing to se him so monstrous: and mee-
 uayle, to here his purpose. Certainly,
 when I sawe him come into the sen-
 ate, I wende it had been some beast, in
 the figure of a man. And after I hadde
 hard him, I iudged him one of the gods
 des, if there be goddes amongemen.
 And as the custome in the senate was,
 that the complaintes of the poore per-
 sons were harde, before the requestes of
 the ryche: this villayne had licence to
 speake, and so began his purpose, to here
 in he thydd hym selfe as bolde as wol-
 des, as extreme and base in his accu-
 sation, and said: O ye ancient fathers, and hap-
 pie people, I synners dwelling in a cite
 on the river of Danubie, doe salute you

Se

M A R C V S

Senators, that are here assembled in
the sacred Senate. The Dees do permit
and the goddes suffer, that the capitaine
of Rome, with their greatest power
have reduced under subiection, the hap-
py people of Germany. Great is
the glorie of you Emperours, for your
battles, that ye have wounde through
out all the worlde. But yf wisdome be
true, more greater shalbe your infamy
in time to come, for the cruelties that
ye have done to the innocents. For ye
detestours had people nigh to the founte
of Danabie, and because they did yll,
the earth waied dyie, and they dyed of
the freshe water: than the water was
noyfull to them, and they retownde to
the main land. What shal I saye that
your couetise is so great, to haue the
gers goodes, and your pride so vncou-
meth, to command all straunge landes,
that the see maye not profite vs, in the
Depenes therof, nor the earth, to suffice vs
in the uses therof. Therefore I hope in
the iust goddes, that as ye, without rea-
son, haue caste vs out of our houses and
possessions: so other shal come, that by
reason, shal caste you out of Italy and
Rome. An infallible rule it is, that be-
that

A V R E L I V S.

that taketh wrongfully an other mans
good, that leste the right of his owne,
neglecte to maintaine, though I be a bil-
laine, yet I know, who is iust and right-
full, in holding his owne: and who a ri-
scoure, in poynting others. There is a
rule, that what is euer they, that be yf
long gathered in many daies, the gods
doe take it fro them in one day: and con-
uertyt to it, all that euer the good haue
lost in many daies, the goddes restore
to them again in one daie. Beleeue me in
this thyng, and haue no doubt therein,
that of the vnlawful winning of the sa-
thers, there folowethe the iustic losse to
theyr children. And if the goddes come
from thence that be it, euer thyng, that
they haue wonne, as long as it is wonne,
it is but season: but in letting them
alone, thereby they assemble by liuel and
litell diuers thynges, and then, when
they thinke least thereon: is taken from
them all at ones. This is a iust iudge-
ment of the goddes, that sith they haue
done ill to byuers, that some should be
ill to them. Certaynely it is not pos-
sible to any vertuous man, yf he be ver-
tuous, that he take any talle in another
mans good, And I am soze abashed,
howe

MARCVS

helow a man, heping an other mans good
 can lyue one houre. Syth he seeth, that
 he hath done iniurie to the goddes, sith
 derred his neighbours, pleased his enme-
 nies, lost his frendes, greued them that
 he hath robbed, and above all, hath put
 his owne person in peryll. This is a
 shamefull thyng amongemen; and cul-
 pable before the goddes, the man that
 hath the desyre of his bett, and the bly-
 dell of his workes at suche libertie; that
 he taketh and robbeth fro the poore, stea-
 leth muche to hym; but a great deale
 of his owne semeth to hym but lytell.
 O what an unhappie man is he, what
 they haue Greke, or latin, that without
 consideracion, wyl chaunge his good
 fame into shame, iustice into wronge,
 right into tyranny, or trouth into lyes;
 the certayn into barrerayne, having an
 norance of his owne goodes, and yle for
 other mens. He that hath his purpo-
 se all intencion, to gather goodes for his
 chyldren and scheylar for a good name;
 amonge them that be good: this is a iuste
 cause, that he lese all his goodes, and so
 without good name, to be shamefull a-
 monge them that be ill. Lett all co-
 nectours and auaricious people knowe
 that

A V R E L I V E .

What neuer amonge noble men was gotten good renoume, with spredying abroad of pil gotten goodes: I can not endure many daies, nor yet be hidde under covert many yerres: a manne to be holden ryche among theym that be ryche, and an honourable man amonge them that be honorable: for he shal be infamed, of that he hath gathered his ryches, with greete couetyse, or kepeth it with extreme auarice. O yf these couetous people were as couetous of theyr owne honour, as they be of other mens goodes: I wote to yon, that the lyttell worme or mothe, that eateth the gownes or clothes of suche couetous people, shulde not eate the reste of theyr lyfe, nor theanker of infamy, dystroie theyr good name and fame at their deatthes. Verke ye Romans, haue what I wylle say, I wolde to the goddess, that ye couide take it. I se that all the worlde hateth pryde, and yet is there none, that foloweth mekenes and humilite. Euerie man condemneth aduouterie, and yet I see none, that lyeth chaste: Euerie man curseth exceste, and I see none, lye temperately: euerie man prayseth pacyfyce, and I see none, that wylle suffer euerie

every man blameth flowthe, and yet
 none but they that be soel, curre one
 mery surpise, and yet every bodie
 bety, wherbyng I sale, and not with
 out idreppage: I sale every man, with
 his tongue onely; pray lord, be mercie
 yet they them selues, with all their
 lmes are seruantes unto vices. I sale
 not this onely for the romayns, which
 been in yllurde: But I sale to by the
 nature that I see in the senate. Will
 I romains, in your denyses about your
 aches beate these wordes: I romaine
 rumell dedellare superbus, et patre
 subiectis. That is it perapoch to
 maine, to subduer them that be prynces,
 and to tongue subiectes. What certainly
 youme better sale: is perapoch to
 maine, to expel innocences, and to trou-
 ble and be wrongfully possible people.
 I romaine, as bar distressed of po-
 ssible people, and thus to sub from
 they, that they beate for.

And sayers other thinges that the will
 sale before the senate. Cap. xxv.

I romaine, sale this villan,
 what action haue ye, that are
 brought up agayn to the truel of

Thiber,

AVRBLIUS.

Wher agaynst vs, that are neygh to
the ryuer of Danubie: Haue ye seene
vs friends to yowre enemies? or haue
we declared vs yowre enemies? or haue
ye herde saie, that we haue lette oure
owne lande, and inhabited any strange
lonbes? or haue ye herde, that we haue
rebelled agaynst our lordes, or haue
troubled any strange realmes: or haue
ye sente vs any ambassadours, to desire
us to bee yowre friends? or haue any
hous of ouers come to us to victrope
you, as oure enemies? or haue any
knyg dyed in our realme, that in his re-
namer, made you hopes to our realme?
In what anyke lawe haue ye founde,
wherby we oughte for to be yowre subie-
ctes? Of trouthe in Almayne hereby,
they haue felte yowre tyrannye, as well
as we haue heerde of yowre reuolunt.

And more oure I saie, that the names
of the Romayns, and the crueltie of ty-
rantes, accined together in one date by
yowre people. I wot not what ye will
saie, that the goddis care not for the
hardynesse of men: For I see, be that
hardynesse, doeth tyramp to hym that
hath but wittell: And he that hath but
wittell, though it be to his infamy, will

D

serue

MARCVS. I.

Ietue hym that hath muche. So that al-
 lorded men appoynt them with secret
 malice, and secreete malice giueth place
 to open theft; and the open robbery noo
 man resisteth. And therefore it cometh,
 that the couetise of an yll man necessa-
 rily is had to be complete, to the prei-
 dice of many good men. One thinge I
 will saie, that either the goddis ought
 to thynke howe these men shal haue an
 ende, or els that the worlde must ende:
 or els the world, to be no world. O for-
 tune must hold sure with you, if al that
 ye haue won in. viii. C. yeres, ye lesse not
 in. viii. daies. And where as ye are be-
 come lordes ouer many, ye shall becom
 slaues to all the worlde. Certayne the
 goddis shall be vniuste, withoute that
 thinge comme, that muste falle to the
 worlde hereafter. For that manne that
 maketh hym selfe a tyrant pactorer, it
 is ryght, that he retourne to be a slave
 by iustice. And it is reason, that sithe ye
 haue taken our miserable lande, that ye
 kepe vs in Justice. I haue greate mer-
 uayle of you Romans, that ye sende so
 symple persons to be our iudges. For I
 sweare to the goddis, they can not de-
 clare your lawes, nor vnderstande ours
 I was

AVRELIVS.

I doe not wisther ye sent them thither
as, but I shall shewe you what they
do there. They take openly, what so e-
uer is belluetered to them: and they doe
they profite with that they desire in se-
crete. They chastise the poore personne
griuously, and they sorbere for money,
them that be riche: they consent to ma-
ny wronges, to byng them astee to the
lawes: and without goodes it dooeth
not to demande iustice: and finally vn-
der the colour that they be iuges, vnder
the senate of Rome, they saie they may
robbe al the lande. What is this, ye Ro-
mayns? Shall your pride neuer haue an
ende in cominandyng, nor your couetise
in robbing? Saie what ye will: If ye
dout for our children, charge them with
prions, and make them sclauens: If ye
dout for our goodes, go thither & take
them: If our seruice doth not content
you, styke of our heades. Why is not
the myle so cruell in oure throtes, as
your tyrannies bee in our heartes? Doe
ye knowe what ye haue dooen ye Ro-
mayns? Ye haue caused vs to sweare,
neuer to retourne to oure wyues: but
to leaue our chyldetne, rather than to
leane them in the handes of so cruell

¶ II

tyrann

M A R C V S .

tyrantes. We had leuer suffre the bea-
ly mocions of the fleshe for .xx. or .xxx.
yeres, than to dye without wounde, le-
uyng our chyldren, sclauens, ye ought
not to do this ye Romans. A londe-
hen parforce, ought the better to be co-
led, to the intent, that the miserable ca-
ptiues, seing iustice duely minystrid to
them, shulde therby forget the tyrannye
passed, and to set their hertes to perpe-
tuall seruitude. And sith we are come to
complaine of the grefes that your Cen-
sures doo vpon the fludde of Danubie,
peradventure you of the senate wil hea-
re vs. Worre ye what they dooe: Marke,
and I shall shewe you. If there come a
right poore man, to demande iustice, ha-
uyng no money to geue, nor wyne to
present, nor oyle to promyse: they feede
hym with wordes, saying howe he shal
haue iustice, but they make him to wast
the litle that he hath, and geue hym
nothyng, though he demaunde muche.
And so the myserable person, that came
to complayne, returneth complaynyng
on you all, cursyng his cruell besties,
and maketh exclamacion vpo the right
wise goddes. I liue with acorns in win-
ter, & cut down the greene corne in sum-
mer,

AVRELIVS.

and sometyme I go a fishing for
 game, so that the moste part of my li-
 uing is sedynge in the fieldes, & ye wote
 not why: heate me, and I shall shewe
 you. I se suche tyranny in your consu-
 mes, and suche robberies amonge the
 poore people, and I se suche warres in
 that realme, and hope of so small relie-
 ef in your senat, that I am determined
 as moste vnhappy, to banishe my selfe
 out of mine owne hous, and honest com-
 pany, so thentent that my hefte shulde
 not fele so great a hurte. It is a greattes
 payn to suffer the ouerthrow of fortune:
 but it is a greater yll, when one seeleth
 it, and can not remedy it, and yet with-
 out comparisson my greattest greefe is,
 when my losse may be remedied, and he
 that maie will not, and he that wil, can
 not remedy it. O ye cruell Romans, if
 the sorowes all ouely shoulde be redu-
 ced to memory, that we suffre, my tongue
 shoulde be weere, and all my membres
 fapnt, and myne eyes shuld wepe blud-
 dy teares, and my fleshe wold consume.
 This in my land may be sene with eyes,
 heerde with eares, and felt in propre per-
 son. Certainly my hert departeth, and
 my soule is troubled, & myne entayles

O it

heake

M A R C V S

breke. And I beleue yet, the goddis will
 haue compassion. I wille desyre you to
 take my woordes for sclaunder. For ye
 romaines, if ye be romaines, ye may
 wel see, that the trouble, that we haue,
 cometh by men, and among men, & with
 men, and by the handes of men. Then
 it is no meruayle, though men fele it as
 men. One thyng comforteth me, and di-
 uers tymes amonge other, that bee un-
 fortunate, it cometh to suche purpose,
 the whiche is, I thinke the goddis bee
 so rightwise, that their fierce and cruel
 chastisementes com not but by our owne
 cruel shrewdnes; and our secreete sinnes
 awaketh vs so, that we haue open iustice.
 But of one thyng I am sore troubled,
 bycause the goddis can not be confuted.
 For a good person, for a littell faute, is
 greatly chastised, and he that is p'l, for
 many fautes is not punished at all. And
 thus the goddis forbear somme, and
 some haue no mercy. Thus it seemeth,
 that the goddis will torment vs by the
 handes of such men as greue vs extreme-
 ly. So that if there were any iustice in
 the worlde, whan they chastise vs with
 their hands, we shuld not merite to haue
 our heades on the shulders. Therefore I

AVRILLVS.

And to you, ye Romaynes, and therefore
 by the immortal Gobbeis, that in .xv.
 years, that I haue ben in Rome, I haue
 had such bedes done in your senat, that
 the least bede of them had been done
 in Damble, the galowes and gibettes,
 had ben hanged thicker of theues, than
 the vineyard with grapes and reysins.
 And sicke that my desire hath sent, that
 it belpyeth, my harte is at rest: in spyes
 bring abroad the poyson that was in it.
 If my tongue hath offended you in any
 thing, I am here ready to make recom-
 pence with my throte. For in good sooth,
 I had rather to wyne honour, offering
 my selfe to the deathe, than ye shoulde
 haue it, in calyng my lyfe to me.
 Thus this villayn ended his purpose.
 When the emperour sayd: Howe thinke
 ye my frendes, what becomell of a nat?
 What holde of trithe? what garne of
 freyne, what cole of thornes, what ma-
 son of bones, byd he encounter? What
 reason is hye, what wordes so wel set,
 what trouble so true, and what malice
 opened he so? He discovered the duerie
 of a good man. And I sweare to you,
 as I may be deliuered from this euill
 that I haue, I salue this villayn

D liii. Rana

standing a hole houre on the erth hold-
ly, and he holdyng downe our beebes
spashed, and coulde not answer hym a
worde. The nexte daie it was accorded
in the senate, to send new iudges to De-
nubie. And we commanded the villain to
helpuer vs in wyltynge, all that he had
saped, that it might bee registered in the
booke of good sayynges of straungers.
And the sayd villayn, for his wile wor-
kes was made patrician, and so caried
syll at Rome, and for ever was luy-
ned of the common treasure.

Thewe the emperour desyred the
wealthe of his people, and the
people his welth. ca. xxxii.

In the second yere that Marcus
was chosen Emperour, the six-
pence of his age, as he returned
fro the warres, that he had in conque-
ryng the Germans and the Sarmatians,
wherby he gotte glorie and rychesse for
the Romayns empyre, he late at Salona
to rest hym, and to appoynt his army,
and to the intent, that the Romayns
shoulde appaer his triumph in Rome
right glorious and rychly. There was

AVRELIVS.

the sayng doen, that was neuer seen be
fore in Rome. For the cause of this tri-
umpe, by all the people and consent of
the senate, the pryncce Comodus, sonne
to Marcus Aurelius was chosen after
the deathe of his father to be emperour
inuerſal of thempire. He was not cho-
sen by the petition of his father, for he
was against it with all his power; say-
yng, that thempire oughte not to be gi-
uen for the laude of them that be dead,
but he shoulde be choosen, for his owne
good worthes. Oftentymes this Empe-
rour wold ſaie, Rome ſhalbe loſt whan
the election ſhall be taken from the ſe-
nate, and the Emperour to inherite the
empyre by Patrimonie.

At Rome to retourne wher as we left.
This emperour beyng at Salon, study-
ed ſore to enter into Rome in good or-
der, and Rome ſtudied ſore howe to re-
ceiue hym, as it appertayned trium-
phantly for ſuche a warr. He was ſore
deſired of thempire: and ever he imagi-
ned, how to do pleaſure to the peple, and
the people were ready to die in his ſer-
uice. Diuers times was moued a plea-
ſant purpoſe in the ſenate, whiche of
theſe thynges was moſt to be loued: The

Or em:

Emperour to loue the people of the em-
 pire, or the people of the empire the em-
 perour. On a date it was determined
 to sette iudges in that case: There was
 choosen the ambassadours of the Ro-
 mes and Rhodes: and vpon that effect
 they hadde wrytyng. It was laied be-
 fore the emperor the good dedes that he had
 dooen in his absence, and the tokens of
 loue, that they had alwaies shewed in
 his presence. And on another date the em-
 perour moued another questio before the
 senate, sayng, that it was a greater glo-
 ry, to haue such subiectes, than the glo-
 ry of the senate, to haue suche an empe-
 ror. Than the senate said nay: Affirming
 that it is a greater glorie that they had
 of hym, than he coulde haue of them. And
 in this maner the emperor gaue the glo-
 rie to the people, and the people to the
 emperor. Thus in sport and play the
 toke iudges again. It was a methapho-
 rical thyng to sette the ioy that they had
 to proue their intentes. And the good
 emperor for a memorie gaue the laude
 to the people, because of their great obe-
 dience and service, and extremous that
 he hadde found in them: And the hap-
 py people recounted the greates clemencie

AVRELIVS.

his and mercy that was in the emperor,
 and his vertue and worthynesse in go-
 uernynge, his honestie of liuyng, and his
 force and ballantnesse in conquerynge.
 It was a great thyng to see the honoure
 that the peple gaue to the emperor, and
 the good renoum that the emperor gaue
 to the people. The writynge was ge-
 uen to the straunge ambassadours, to
 shewente that the people myght lern to
 obey their princes, and princes to loue
 their people. To the ende that by suche
 examplis, as it was reason, the good
 people shoulde enforce them selues, and
 the ill to withdraue. Thus this em-
 perour adressed his entree with his capti-
 ues and captiues. And Rome appa-
 railed them with all their senators and
 people to receyue hym. It was a huge
 thyng to se what people was at Rome
 to go forth to mete hym, and what peo-
 ple were with the emperor to enter.
 They that were at Salon had they
 eyes and also their heartes at Rome:
 and they that were at Rome had they
 heartes at Salon. CXXXIIII
 In suche wyse that they eyes de-
 led with that they sawe, and their hear-
 tes ached for that they hoped to see. CXXXV

There

MARCVS

There is no greater pain, than when
the heart is deferred fro that it longeth
fore to haue.

Howe thempetour gaue Lucilla his
doughter lycence to spozte hee at
his palates. Capit. xxxiii.



It is to be knowe, that the
Romains hadde a custome,
that in the moneth of Iam
uer thei shuld make triumphes
to their empetours:
and in the same season that
the triumphes were apparailled, Fau-
stine thempresse caused diuers high per-
sones to prais the empetour to geue ly-
cence to a doughter of his, to come from
there as she was kepte, to the palais,
and spozte hir at the feastes. This mai-
den was named Lucie or Lucilla: she
was hygher than the prynce Comodus
her brother: shee was of a goodly ge-
sture, and wel proportioned of her bo-
die, and well beloued of her mother.
And she resembled hyr not all onely in
her beautie, but also in her lyaunge.
And tho ugh the requeste was ppetieful,
and they that made it famillier, and he
to

A V R E L I V S.

so whome it was made, was the fa-
 ther, and the demaunder was the mo-
 ther, and she for whome it was made,
 was the doughter: the emperour gran-
 ted it, but not withoute great displea-
 sure. . . . Neuerthelesse Faustyne was
 full gladde, and as sone as she had ob-
 teyned licence, she brought her dough-
 ter to the palais. And so whan the day
 of the greatte feast and triumph was
 come, the damoysele Lucylle beyng out
 of her gouernaunce, and soying hir self
 at large, trustyng than vppon her own
 innocencie, toke no hede of any strange
 malice, but laughed with them that
 laughed, talked with them that tal-
 ked, and behelde them that behelde
 her, and without care she thought, that
 none thoughte yll of her because she
 thoughte yll of none: yet in those day-
 es a mayden to laugh among men was
 reputed as muche as a woman to haue
 doen aduouty with priestes of Biece,
 so great was the honestee of Romaine
 women esteemed. And lightnes of mat-
 ters was a great infamie: for they wer
 wors punished for one open lyghtnes:
 than for two secret fautes. Amonge all
 other, senen thynges the women dydde
 obserue

M A R C V S

abstene surely, that is to witte, not to
 speake muche at feastes, no; to eate mu-
 che at bankettes, to drynke no wyne in
 theyr belche, no; to speake alone with
 men: not to lift vp their eyes in the tem-
 ples, no; to stande longe lokynge out at
 wyndowes, no; to go out of their how-
 ses without their husbannes. The wo-
 man taken with any of these dyshonest
 thynges, was alwaies after reputed in-
 famed. Many thynges were suffered of
 persons in small reputacion, that were
 not suffered in persons of honour. For
 the noble women culde not conserue the
 reputacion of their estate, but by reason
 of keping their person in great feat and
 good order. All thynges done vnkyn-
 dly is sin, and may be amended: but the
 dishonest woman is alwaies famed. The
 noble ladies, yf thei wyl be taken as
 ladies, whā thei excede other in richesse
 the lesse licence ought thei to haue to go
 wandryng about. Certasly the plenty
 of goodes, and the libertie of persones,
 should not be a spur to pricke them for-
 ward, but rather a bydel to kepe them
 in their closettes. And this is said, for
 cause that durynge the saied feastes, the
 damoisel Lucill, as a yong maiden, and

Faustina

SAVRE LIVS.

Faustine, her louyng mother not being
 able, sometyne a foote, and sometyne
 rydyng on horsebacke, sometyne open-
 ly, and sometyne meruailous secretly,
 sometymes with company, and somety-
 mes withoute companie, sometyne on
 the daie, and nowe and then by nyght,
 they would walke abroad in the stretes
 of Rome to se the fieldes of Vulcan: in
 gardens Saturnines, and drinke at the
 conduites of Aetnos water, and some-
 tyme passe the time by the fayre riuer of
 Tiber, and in all suche other plesau-
 nte sportes as appertained to theyr age.
 And though the foretold pismetyne
 prouoked them thereto, yet the grauntre
 of suche ladies shoulde not suffice it. I
 will saye one thyng, to the entent noble
 women shuld take aduertisement there-
 by, and that is this: I knowe not whi-
 che was the greateste dissolution, ey-
 ther the walkyng abroad of Faustine
 and Lucille through the stretes and o-
 ther places, or els the boldenesse of yll
 spekers, speakeyng agaynst their per-
 sons and good names. The withdra-
 wyng and keepyng of women close
 is a byrdelle to the toungues of all
 menne; and the womanne that doo-
 eth

both otherwyse, otherwyse putteth the
 good name in danger. Of trouthe it was
 better for a woman neuer to be borne,
 than to be defamed. Amonge the wo-
 mains the linnage of the Cornelles was
 had in great estimacion: For of them al
 neuer none was founde a coward, nor
 a woman defamed: The histories shew
 that ones a woman of that linnage be-
 yng onely defamed, was hanged on the
 galows by the handes of hir own kin-
 sothe. Surely it was well done of the
 romaynes, to the entent that the wil-
 kednesse of one woman shuld not suffe-
 re pl fame to reune vpon the hole linnage:
 wher is ther noblenes without shame?
 The thinges that touche honour, ought
 not to be hyd but amended by iustyce,
 and to put them to deth, that lose their
 good fame. It is not sufficient for a per-
 son to be good: but it is necessary that
 he putte from him all occasions that ar
 reputed to bee yll. All the losses that
 a manne maye haue of any temporalle
 goodes, can not counterpeyse the leas-
 losse of good fame. A man that lay-
 eth his good fame for a farthyng at a
 but of this worlde, at a hundred shotes
 scantely shall he shooe out a ryght.

And

AVRELIVS.

And contrarywise the man that feareth
no shame, nor will not haue his person
in reputation, there is no hope of good-
nesse in hym. When this emperour, as a
hypocryt, sayng in most sayre and
calme wyther, soicaireth, and is in gret
thought and feare of tempestes and stur-
mes to come, in the feastes of his great
gloire, was in doubte of those two la-
bies, lest sobelyly any misfame shulde
folowe. And certapnly he hadde greate
cause. For it is an infallible rule of en-
uious fortune, that this present felicia-
tie is gyuen with a prycke of a sodayne
falle of mischaunce. In thynges natu-
rall, we see somtyme the sea calme, and
for sobelyth foloweth a peryllous
tyme, and consequently the great heat
of the daye, is signe of chiller at night.
A faire fortune cōmynge with some pre-
sent delecte or pleasure, is a token, that
by flatterynge vs, she hath made re-
by her snares to catche vs. When the
miller is sure, he dresseth his water
gate, and the labourer when he reapeth
not, couereth his house, thynkyng that
an nother tyme the weathers or raynes
will falle thereon, and trouble hym:
In lyke wyse a wyse and a vertuose

man ought to thynke, as longe as he li-
ueth in this worlde, he holdeth his fe-
licitie but at aduenture: and his aduer-
sitie for his naturall patrimony. Among
all them that coulde reioyce in prosper-
itie, and helpe them selfe in aduersitie,
this emperour Marcus Aurelius was
one, whiche for any flatterpuges that
fortune coulde shewe hym, he neuer
trusted in them, nor for myshappe that
he had in this lyfe, he neuer dispaired.

What Marcus the emperour sayd
to a senatour as touchyng tri-
umphes. Capl. xxxv.

VWhen these feastes were passed,
as Sertus Cheronense sayeth, a
senatour named Aluinus, sayd
to the emperour, that same nyght that
the triumphe ceased, Sp: reioyce you,
for the that this daie ye haue gyven so
great rychesse to the commune treasure
of Rome, and I haue seene your person
in the triumphe of glorie, and to the
worlde to come of you and your house,
you haue lefte perpetuall memory. The
emperour heyrng these wordes, sayd in
this maner: Frendes, it is good reason
we

AVRELIVS.

We beleue the hunter knoweth the fierc-
 nes of bestes, the phisicion the proprietie
 of herbes, the mariner, the perils and
 rockes, the capitaines the chaunces of
 warre, and theemperour that trispheth,
 the loyes that he hath of triumphes. As
 god helpe me, and as euer I haue parte
 with my predecessors, & as euer I haue
 good fortune, the thoughts that I haue
 had for these feastes, haue ben far gret-
 ter than the feates that I haue had in
 all the iourneys and battayles afore.
 And the reason therof is verpe eident,
 to them that haue cleere vnderstandyng
 for alwaies in cruell batailles I was e-
 uer in hope to haue glory, and feared not
 the overthrow of fortune. What could
 I lose in bataille? Nothyng, but the life
 that is the least thyng that men haue,
 and alwaies in these triumphes I feare
 to lose renome, whiche is the greatest
 gyft that the goddis haue gyuen me. O
 how happy is that man, that loseth his
 lyfe, and leaueth behynd hym perpetu-
 all memory? Let euery man vnderstand
 this that will, and saie what they lyst:
 that amonge noble and valyaunt ba-
 tones, he dyeth not, that leeseeth his
 lyfe, and leaueth good renowme after

39 ii

hym,

MARCVS

hym, and much lesse time liueth he that hath an yll name, though he lyued many yeres. The aunclente philosophers reckened not the lyfe of a man, though he lyued many yeres, but they reckened the good woorkes that he had doted.

The senate was importune vppon me, that I shulde take this triumph, as ye knowe well: And I can not telle, why the was greatest, they desyre or my resistance. You know not the trowth why I saie thus. I dyd it not because of ambition, and for couetousnes of glorie, but it was because I feare the humayne malice. At the date of the triumph there was not so great ioy shewed by the simple persons, but the hvd enuy was greater among the greatest persones. This glorie passeth in one date, but enuy abydeth a holle yere. The plentyful realm of Egypt, so happie in the bloodshed of theyr enemies, as in the waters of Nile hadde a lawe immouable. They neuer denied theyr mercy to the captiues, overcome: nor they gaue no triumph to their capitaynes overcomers.

The Caldeys mocke at the Romayne triumphes, affirmyng, how there is not geuen so greate chastisement to the Capitaynes

AVRELIVS.

pitayn of Egypt overcome, as the Em-
pire Romaine gve to the overcommer,
whan triumphe is geuen to hym. And
suerly the reason is good, for the thought
full capitayn, whan he hath chased his
enemies, that Rome hath in strange
landes, with his owne propre speare, in
paiement for his trauaylle, they gve
hym enemies in his owne propre lande.
I sweare to you, that all the Romaine
capitaynes haue not left so many enne-
mies dead by swerde, as they haue re-
couered yll willers the date of their tri-
umphes. Let vs leaue the Caldeys, and
speake we of our auncient Romaines,
whiche if they might retourne nowe a-
gaine into the worlde, they wold rather
be tied fast to the chariots as captiues,
than to sit in them as victours, And the
cause is, their neighbours seying theym
goyng as captiues, woulde moue theyr
herdes to sette theim at libertee, so that
the glory of their triumphes, is a mean
to cause them to be persecuted and pur-
sued. I haue red in writing, and herde
of my predecessours, and haue seene of
my neighbours, that the abundance of
felicitie hath caused cruell enuye to bee
in many. O in what perille are they

MARCVS

that with particular honour wolde be
 exalted among other? In the most high-
 est troes the force of wyndes is most ad-
 vanced. And in moſte ſumptuous buil-
 dynges lyghtnyng and thunder dooeth
 moſte hurt, and in great thycke and dy-
 buſhes, the fyres kendale moſte eaſily:
 I ſaye, that in theim that fortune hath
 reiſed moſte hyghely, agaynſte theim
 ſpreadeth the greateſt payſone of en-
 uye. All ſuche as bee vertuouſe, ſay:
 The moe ennemyes they ſubdewe to the
 commune wealthe: the moe enuyouſe,
 they recouer of theyr renoume. One
 ought to haue greate compaſſion of a
 vertuouſe man: bycauſe where he tra-
 uapleth to bee good, there abyedeth one
 thyng in hym, of the whyche all onely
 at the dethe he ſeeth the ende. And that
 is, the more a man recouereth here re-
 noume amonge ſtraungers, the more he
 is perſecuted with enuye amonge his
 owne nations. Homere ſheweth in his
 Illiades, that Caluſtio kyng of the
 Aegyues was experte in clergie, valy-
 ant in armes, and indued with dyuers
 graces, beloued with his people, aboue
 all other, he was a greate louer of his
 goddis, and woozhypper of theim.

This

AVRELIVS.

This good kyng hadde a custome, that in all thynges that he hadde to dooe, he woulde fyrst aske counsaile in the temples of the goddis: He woulde begynne no warre agaynste other, nor ordeyne no newe law nor custome in his realme nor geue an iure to the ambassadours, nor put noo trespassours to death, nor sette no tribute on his people: but fyrst he woulde go to the temple, and make dyuers sacrifices to knowe the will of the goddes. And bycause he wente so often to the oracles, he was demanded what answere the goddes made to hym in secrete, seing he was so importunate. Then he aunswered and sayed: I demaunde of the goddes, that they shulde not gyue me so lytell, that euery man myght abate and ouercome me. Nor also that they shulde gyue me so moche, that euery manne shoulde hate me, but my desyre is to haue a meane estate, wherewith euery manne myght loue me. For I hadde leuer be fellowe with many in loue, than to be kyng of all with hatred and enuy.

MARCVS

Of the great reproche that the emperor gaue to his wife Faustine and her doughter. Capl. xxxvi.



After the feastes of the triumph aforesaid, this good emperor willing to satisfie his heart, and to aduertise Faustine his wife, and to teache his innocent doughter, without knowlage of any other, he sent for them, & saied: I am not content Faustine, with that your doughter doth, and yet lesse with that you do, whiche at her mother. These maidens, for to be good maydens, oughte well to knowe, how to obey their mothers. And the mothers to be good mothers, ought to know how to bring vp their children. The father is excused in geuyng counsell, if the mother be vertuous, and the doughter shamefast. It is a great shame to the father, beinge a noble man, that his wife beinge a woman, shuld chastise his sonne: And a greate inconuenience of the mother, beinge a mother, that her doughter shuld be chastised by the handes of her father. There was a law ordeyned by the Iudiciens, that the father

with

AURELIUS.

With the daughter, if she had a mother,
 nor the mother with the son, yf he wer
 a man, shuld not entermedle ech with o-
 ther but alonely men with men, and wo-
 me with womē ought to be brought vp.
 And the extremitee of the law was such,
 that amonge them that dwelled in one
 house, seemed to the fathers hadde no
 daughters, nor the mothers no sonnes.
 O Rome, I wepe not to see thy streetes
 unpaued, nor that there is so many gut-
 ters in thy houses, nor that the battyl-
 mentes fall downe, nor the tymble be-
 wed downe, nor for the minysshynge of
 thyne habitauntes, for all this the time
 byngeth, and the tyme beareth awaie:
 but I wepe for the, and wepe for the a-
 gapne, to se the vnepeopled of good fa-
 thers, & unprouided in the nourysshinge
 of their sons. Our cuntry began to fail
 utterly, whan the doctrine of sones and
 daughters was enlarged, and they: bri-
 dell let go at libertee. For there is now
 suche boldenesse in men chyldren, and so
 lyttell shamesfastnes in women chyldren
 with & dishonestee of the mothers, that
 where as on father suffised for .xx. sons
 & one mother for .xxx. daughters, now
 .xx. fathers, scantly dare vndertake to
 bring

M A R C V S

bynge by well one sonne, and .xxx. mo-
 thers one daughter. I say to you thus
 Faustiu, you remembre not how you as
 a mother, for you geue more libertie to
 your daughter then ought to be suffered.
 And you Lucyll remembre not, howe
 you are a doughter: For you shewe to
 haue more libertie than requyeth for a
 younge mayden. The greatestte gyfte
 that the goddes haue giuen to the ma-
 trones of Rome is bycause they as wo-
 men, they kepe them selfe close and se-
 crete: and bycause they are Romanys,
 they are shamesfast. The day when the
 women want the feare of the goddes se-
 cretly, and shame of men openly, beleue
 me either they shal fail the world, or the
 world them. The common welth requi-
 reth so great necessitie, that the women
 that dwel therein, shuld be as honest, as
 the capitains be valiaunt. For the capi-
 taynes goyng to warre, defende them,
 and the womenne that abyde at home,
 conserue them. As a. iiii. petes passed
 ye sawe the great pestilence, and I de-
 maunded then to haue a compte of the
 people, and I found, that of a. C. xl. M.
 women well liuyng. lxxx. M. died: And
 of, x. M. yll women, in maner they sca-
 ped

AVRELIVS.

ped all. I can not tel for which I shuld wepe, eyther for the lack, that we haue of the good and vertuous women in our common welth, or elles for the greuous hurte and domage, that these yll and wicked womenne dooe to the youthe of Rome. The fire that brenneth in mount Ethna, doth not so great domage to the that dwell in Sicill, as one yll woman doth in the circuit of Rome. A fyerce beast and a perillous, enemy to the common welthe, is an yll woman, for shee is of power to do muche harme, and is not apte to folowe any goodnesse. How many realmes and kynges reade we of, to be losse by the yll gouernance of women, and to resist against the barth been nede of wysedome, perylles, money, force, and worthines of many men. The vyces in a womanne is as a grene rede, that boweth euery waie: but the libertie and dishonestie is as a dry hire that bredeth in such wyse that the more yll they vnder, the more vnlykely is the redres thereof agayne. Beholde Faustyne, there is no creature that more desireth honour, and worse kepeth it, than a woman. And that this is true, se by Iustice, by oracions, by wytynge, and other

M A R C V S

other traunyles man getteth renoume
but (without it be flatterpng and sapie
speakyng) vnto this houre by anythe
wrytynge, we can read of fewe women
or none, that epyther by wrytynge, redyng
workyng, with nedell, spynnyng, or by
weauyng, haue gotten them any great
renoume. But as I saie of one, I saie of
an other. Certainly of dyuers we rede,
by keepng them close in their houses,
well occupied in their besynesses, tempe-
rate in their wordes, saytheful to theyr
houfbandes, well ordered in their per-
sons, peassible with their neyghbours,
and finally beyng honest amonge theyr
owne family. And shamsfast among str-
gers, such haue attayned great renoum
in their lyfe, and lefte eternall memory
of them after theyr death. I wil tel you
an antike hystorie, as profitable to re-
strein our vyces, as it did than augment
vertues, and it is this: The realme of
Lacedemoniens (as Plato saith) was
a season more dissolute by the vntyfy-
tynes of women, than infamed by the
crueltie of men: so that of all maner na-
cions they were called Barbariens.
What tyme Grece as a mother, called
phylosophie of phylosophers, Lpgurge

A V R E L I V S.

a wyse philosopher in knowlage, and a
 tryght iust kyng to gouern, partely with
 his doctrine right profytable, and part
 ly with his pure lyfe, made lawes in
 the sated realme, wherby he extirped al
 vices, and planted all vertues. I can
 not telle, whych of these twoo were
 most happie, The kyng, hauynge so o-
 bedient peple, or els the realme, to haue
 so tryghfull a kyng. Among all other
 lawes, for women he made one greatly
 to be commended. He comaunded, that
 the father that dyed, shoulde gyue no-
 thyng to his daughter. And an other,
 that neiether liuyng nor dyng, he shuld
 gyue any money to mary her with: to
 the entent that none shuld mary her for
 her ryches, but all onely for her good-
 nes: and not for hit beantie, but for her
 vertues. And where as now, some be
 vnmariied, bycause they are poore, soo
 then they abode vnmariied, beicuse they
 were shamefull and vicious. O tyme,
 woorthy to be despyed, whan maydens
 hoped nothyng to be mariied with their
 fathers goodes, but by the vertuouse
 workes of their owne persones. This
 was the tyme, called the golden world.
 Whan neyther the daughter feared to
 be

be disinherited by the father in his life,
 nor the father to die soone for leauynge
 hit without remedie at his deathe. **O**
 wome, cursed be he that fyrste brought
 golde in to thy house, and cursed bee he
 that fyrste began to horde by treasure.
Who hath made wome to be so ryche of
 treasure, and so poore of vertues? **W**ho
 hath made men wedde by lapnes doughters,
 and leaue the doughters of Sena-
 tours unmarried? **W**hat hath made
 that the ryche mans doughter is deman-
 ded vnylling, and the doughters of a
 poore man none wyl desire? **W**hat ha-
 the caused, that one marrieth a sole with
 v. l. marke, rather than a wyle womā
 with. x. M vertues? **E**than. I saie, that
 in this pointe the fleshe vanquisheth the
 fleshe, and er euer the haultie of the ma-
 lice, therof is vanquished. **H**ow cometh
 it, that a couerous persone wyl sooner
 nowe a dates haue a wyle, that is riche
 and foule, than one that is poore and
 faire? **O** vnhappye women that bynge
 forth chyliden, and more vnhappye bee
 the doughters, that are boine: whyche
 to haue theim married, no store is set by
 the blud of theyr predecessours, nor the
 fauour of their friendes, nor the value
 of

A V R E L I V S.

of their workes, nor the beautie of these
 persones, nor the cleannes of their lyfe.
 O cursed worlde, where the daughter
 of a good mā, without money, shal haue
 no mariage. But it was not wont to be
 so. For in the auncient tyme, whan they
 treated of mariages, fyrst they spake of
 the persons, and after of the goodes:
 not as they do at this houre, in this vn-
 happy tyme: for nowe they speake first
 of goodes: and laste of all of the person.
 In the saied golden worlde, fyrst they
 spake of the vertues, that the personne
 was endowed with, and whan that was
 married, in sportyng, they wolde speake
 of the goodes. Whan Camillo retourn-
 ed vpon the Gaules or Frenchemen,
 he had then but one son, and he was
 the one, that his person merited gret
 landes. And for the renoume of his
 father, dyuerse kynges desyred to haue
 hym to theyr sonne: and dyuers sena-
 tours desyred to haue him to their son-
 nes in lawe. This younge manne, be-
 yng of the age of .xxx. yeres, and the fa-
 ther at .lx. was importunately stirred
 by his naturall friendes, and desyred
 of straunge kynges, for to marrie him:
 but alwaye the olde Camyll repugned
 the

the counsell of his frendes, and the opportunitye of the strangers. whā it was demaunded, why he determined not upon some marriage for his sonne, by the therby shoulde folowe the restefull lyfe of the yonge man, and the quietnesse of hym selfe in his age. He answered: I wyl not mary my son, bycause some offer me cyche doughters, some noble of lynnage, some yonge, and some saye: but there is none hath saied to me: I giue you my vertuose doughter. Certainly Camil merited to haue triumph, for that he did. And he deserued eternal memory, for that he sayd. I saie to you. Faustine all these wordes bycause if you lede your doughter to the theatres and playes, and do byynge hir into the Capitoll. you put her to the heppage of the sworde plaiers, you suffer hir to see the tumblers, and yet ye do not remember that shee is yonge, and you not aged: ye go into the stretes without licence, and playe by the cyuers. I fynde no villany therein, nor thinke that your doughter is ill: but I saie it, bycause you geue occasion, that she shoulde not be good. Beware Faustine, neuer trust in the case of the fleshe of yonge people.

Roz

AVRELIVS.

For haue no confidence in olde folkes.
 For there is no better waie, than to flee
 the occasion of al thynges. For this in-
 tent the virgins Vestales are closed vp
 betwene the walles, to eschewe the oc-
 casions of open places, not to bee more
 light and foolish, but to be more sadde
 and vertuous, fleyng occasions. The
 yong shall not saie, I am yong and ver-
 tuous, nor the olde shall not saie, I am
 olde, and broken. For of necessitie, the
 hye flaxe will brenne in the fyre, and
 the grene flagge smoke in the flame. I
 saie, that a man being a diamond encha-
 ced among mē, yet of necessity he ought
 to be quicke and mery amonge women.
 And as waxe melteth in the heate, wee
 can not deny, that though the wodde be
 taken fro the fyre, and the ymbres quen-
 ched, yet neuer the lesse the stones often
 tyme remayne hote and brennyng. In
 lyke wise the fleshe, though it be cha-
 nged with horre and drye maladies, or
 consumed by many yeres with trauail,
 yet concupiscence abiderth still in the bo-
 nes. What nede is it to blasen the ver-
 tues, and deny our naturalites? Cer-
 tainly there is not so crooked a hors, but
 if he see a mare, he wille brate ones or

¶

twisse,

MARCVS

swife. There is no man so yong nor old
 but let hym le ponge damoisels, either
 he will giue a sight or a wishe: In al vo-
 luntary thynges I denye not, but that
 one maie be vertuous: but in naturall
 thynges, I confesse euery man to bee
 weake. Whan ye take the wood fro the
 fyre, it leaueth byennynge. Whan somer
 cometh, the cold winter ceaseth: whan
 the sea is calme, the waues leaue their
 vehement mowynge, whan the sonne is
 sette, it bespyueth not the world. I will
 saie that than, and not before, the fleshe
 will cesse to peyne vs, whan it is layde
 in the graue. Of the fleshe we are born,
 and in the fleshe we lyue, & in the fleshe
 we shall dye, and thereby it foloweth,
 that our good lyfe shal sooner end than
 our fleshe. Oftentymes some holysome
 fleshe for meate corrupteth in an vnhol-
 some potte, and good wyne somertyme
 sauoureth of the soyll. I saie, though
 that the werkis of our life be vertuous,
 yet shal we fele the stench of the weake
 fleshe. I saie this Faustine, shee age
 can not resist the horte enterprise, howe
 can the tender membres of youth resist
 it? pou being the mother, without pou
 go the right way, she being yout dought

AVRELIVS.

ter can not go the same waie. The Ro-
mayn matrones, if they will nourishe
theyr daughters well, ought to keepe
these rules. Whan they see, that they
woulde go abrode, than breake their
legges: and if they woulde be gasping,
than put out theyr eyes, and if they will
harke, stoppe their eares, yf they will
gyue or take, cutte of their handes: yf
they dare speke, sew vp their mouthes:
and if they will intend any lightnes, bu-
ry them quick. Wordes ought to be gi-
uen to an yll doughter: and in neede of
presents and gifies at her weddyng,
gyue hir wormes: and for her house, a
grane. Take hede Faustine, if you will
haue great ioye of your doughter, take
fro her the occasions, wherby she shall
be yll. To vnderfette a hous, behoueth
dyuers proppes: And if principals bee
taken a waie, it wyl fall down. I will
tell you, women are so fraile, that with
hepers with great peyne, they can kepe
them selve: and for a smalle occasion,
they will lose altogether. O how many
yl hath ther be, not bicause thei wold be
so, but bicause thei folowed such occasi-
ons, the which thei ought to haue esch-
ed. It is for me to enter into this battel

¶ ii

but

MARCVS

but yet it is not in me to attayne the victorie. It is for me to entre into the sea, yet it lieth not in my handes to escape the peryll. It is in the handes of a woman to enter into the occasion, and after that she is therein, it is not in her handes to deliuer her from faute.

Howe the emperour counsailed Faustine, to eschue the yll occasions from her daughter. Capi. xxxvii.

Retracture Faustine ye will
 safe to me none male seketo
 your daughter Lucil, but if
 you here it: no; se her, but in
 your sight, no; hyde her, but
 you knowe tohere, no; make none ap-
 poyntmente, without your knowlage.
 And at this houre you knowe not, that
 they that do hate her, and wold her yll,
 what dishonour their tongues do speke
 of her. Newe loue in yonge bloude in
 the springing tyme and flourishing
 youth, is a popson, that forthwith spre-
 deth into euery vayne: It is an herbe,
 that by and by entreth the entrailes: a
 stwounyng, that incontinently mortifieth
 al the membyes, & a pestilence, that
 sleeth

AVRELIVS.

steeth the hertes, and finally it maketh
 an ende of all vertues. I wot not what
 I saie yet, althoughe I knowe, what I
 will say: For I wold neuer blasen loue
 with my tongue, without I were soore
 hurt in myn vnderstandyng. Ouide saie
 eth in his booke of the art of loue, Loue
 is I wote not what, that cometh I wot
 not whens, who sent it I wot not, it en-
 gendreth I wote not howe, it is conten-
 ted, I wote not wherwith, it is felte, I
 wote not how oft, nor I wote not wher
 soe. And finally loue taketh rote with
 out breakyng of the fleshe outwarde, or
 perryng the intrayles inwarde. I wote
 not what Ouide meaneth hereby: but I
 strowe whan he saied these woordes, he
 was as farre banysed from hym selfe,
 as I am at this tyme from my selfe. O
 Faustine, they that loue togyther, when
 the signes of their hertes by diuers waies,
 and in sleapyng they reasone and
 speake: and by signes they vnderstande
 eche other. The great voyce outwarde
 is sygne of lyttell loue inwarde: And
 the greatte inwarde loue keepeth sy-
 lence outwarde. The entreayles with-
 in embraced in loue, cause the tounge
 outwarde to be muet. He that passeth

M A R C V S

his life in loue, ought to haue his mou-
the close. And to the intent that ye shall
not thynk, that I speake fables, I will
proue this by auncient histories.

¶ We fynd aunciently, that in the yere
L. and. lxx. after the foundation of Rome
Estrusco a young Romayne that was
dile, And Meronne a fayre lady of the
Latins, that was domethe also. These
two saw eche other on the mount Cell
oit at a feast, & ther fel in loue eche with
other. And their herts wer as sore fired
in loue, as they: tongues were tyed for
wordes. It was a meruailous thyng to
se them, and fearefull to note here. The
young lady came fro Salon to Rome:
and he went fro Rome to Salon, by the
space of. xxx. yeres togider without the
wittig of any person, nor the two spake
not. Than at last died the husbnde of
the lady Meronne, and the wyfe of E-
strusco, and than they discovered they:
loue, and treated a mariage betweene
them, of whome descended the noble li-
nage of our Scipions, which wer more
liberall in the feates of armes, than their
father and mother were in they: toun-
ges. Than Faustine marke this thyng:
Lytell aduantage it had been to haue
cut

AVRILLVS.

cut out the tongues of the two dumbe
folkes, to haue remedied their loue, and
not to haue cut out their hartes.
Also I shall tell you of Malinissa, a
worthy knyght of Numidie, and So-
pharise a famous ladie of Carthage.
alouely by one syght, as thei sawe eche
other on a ladder, he declared his de-
sire vnto her: and thee knowynge his
luste, breakyng the noyes of feare, and
lyfynge by the ankers of shame, in-
continent capsed the saylles of thei
bertes, and with the wyppes of thei
persones, they topned eche to other.
There made we gather, howe the sythe
sight of their eyes, and knowlage of
thei persones, and the league of thei
bertes, and the mariage of their bodies
and the pardicion of their estates, and
the infampe of thei name, in one day
in one howse, in oone momente, and
in one steppes of a ladder were agreed.
What wylle ye, that I sape moze to
this purpose? Dooe you not knowe
that Delapne the Greeke, and Barys
the Tropan, of two straunge nations
and of farre countreyes, with one only
syght in a temple, thei wylles were so
hart together, that he toke her as his

D.iii.

caps

M A R C V S

captiue, and she aboode his prisoner.
In Marys appeered but smalle force,
and in her but lytell resistance. So that
in maner, these two younge persones,
the one procurynge to vanquyshe, and
the other sufferynge to bee vanquysshed,
Marys was cause of his fathers death:
and Helayne of the infamy of her hus-
bande, and they bothe of theyr owne
deathes, losse to theyr realmes, & sclan-
der to all the worlde. All this loue cau-
sed one onely syght.

¶ Whan great kyng Alexander wolde
haue gyuen battayle to the Amazones,
the quene capitayn of them no lesse fair
than stronge and vertuous, came to a
ryuer syde, and the space of an houre
eche of them behelde other with theyr
eyes without speakynge of any woorde,
and whan they retourned to their ten-
tes, the fierlensesse was tourned into
swete wanton amorous wordes.

¶ Whan Pyrrhe the faithful defender
of the Tarentines, and renoumed kyng
of Epirotes, was in Italy, he came to
Naples, and he had not been there but
one daie, the same season there was a
ladde in the same citie, named Gama-
licce of a hyghe lpgnage, and greatest

AVRELIVS.

Is esteemed in beautie : The veray same
 hane she was goren with child, and was
 shed thorough out all Italy, and was
 thrust out of the citie, and after she was
 deliuered of child, she was slain, by one
 of hir owne brethren.

Also Cleopatra in the prouince of Bi
 thynye, in the wod Gehin, made a good-
 ly banquet or solemne feaste to Marcus
 Anthonius her louer. And thoughte she
 was not very honeste, yet had she with
 hir eyght chaste women: and thus the
 banquet endured a gret part of the night,
 and the wodde beyng thicke, the yonge
 damels were not so wily to hide them,
 but the younge men Romaynes founde
 them: so that of. lx. daughters of the se-
 natours. lv. were gotten with chylde a-
 mong the thicke bushes: which thyng
 made a great schaunder in the people,
 and augmented the infamy of Cleopa-
 tre, and multiplied the honestie of Marc
 Anthonius.

Thus as I haue shewed of a smalle
 yombe, I coulde saie of many other.
 All men are not men, nor all women be
 not women. I saie it bycause I wolde
 it shuld be said, let it touch them that it
 toucheth, and let them that can, vnder-

A. b.

stande

MARCVS

Stande me. There is some wyppes, that
 are so lyght, that they will saile with a
 litell wynde: and there be some mylles
 that wyl grinde with a litell water.
 I saie there be some women so dyscreet
 that as a glasse with a syllop will breke
 and wyl slyp with a litell myre. Shew
 me *Faustine*, have you suffered your
 Doughter to speke but with hir vnckles,
 and kept company but with hir cosins?
 I saie in this case as muche wylentesse
 hath the mother as the doughter to be
 in peryll. Doe you not knowe, that the
 quicke fire doth not forbear the wood
 be it wete or drye, but in likewyse it doth
 sumeth the harde stones: Doe you not
 knowe, that the hungre excessiue cau-
 seth beastes to deuour with their teethe
 the thing that was bred in thei entrail-
 les: Doe you not knowe, that the gods
 made a lawe ouer all thynges: ex-
 cept on louers, because they maye not
 abyde it. And doubtlesse it is rightwysely
 dooen, that some condemne these
 folyshe innocentes, because they
 haue none vnderstandyng. The goddes
 giue no pain to amorous people, because
 they are depriued fro reason ye knowe
 whan I was censure, ther was a yong
 wo:

AVRELIVS.

Woman that had a chylde by his owne
father, and an other that had a child by
his sonne, and a nyce by his propre vn-
cle: and there was sentence giuen ou-
er them, that the fathers shuld be caste to
the lions, and the childre buried quick,
and the mothers wer brent in the camp
of Mars. The matter was so horrible
to here, that I myght not endure to see
the cursed men. And I commaunded by
my decrees, that none shoulde be so bold
to speake in suche a case any more. And
yf this case were fearefull to men, than
certainly the Romayn matrones ought
to line chastely. Than yf the fyre of the
father do chase the doughter, endameth
hynselfolke, and bouene theim selfe: ye
maie be sike, yf he find after eyther co-
syn or sayre sister, the flames of his con-
cupiscence wyll not leaue to take holde
on his for any parentage. If this riot-
touse selfe will obey reason, than it
maie be, that your doughter may speke
lyberally with his cousyns: but sythe
that passion repugneth soo muche at
reason, I counsaile you truste not to
muche in hyr brytherne. You see by ex-
perience: that the worme that is bredde
in the tymbre, eateth the same tymbre:
and

MARCVS

and the mothes that are bred in the clothes, eateth the same cloth. I say that sometime a man bringeth vp in his house some person, that after taketh his lyfe from hym. I Austine take this for a warning, that I haue said for a warning, and these laste wordes I gyue you for counsell, If you wyll keepe your selfe from thought, and your doughter from peryll, alwaie leat your doughter be occupied with some good workes. When the handes are occupied with any good exercise, than the heart is voyde from many ydell and vayne thoughtes. Every lightnesdone in youth breketh down a loope of the defence of our lyfe, but ydellnes, whereby our enuy entred, is it, whiche openeth the gate to all vyces. I Austine wil you witte. I se daily the perdition of the yong Romayne doughters. For as sone as they be borne, they presume to be amorous: they are vnthoughtfull, with the rechelesnesse of the father, and wantonnesse of the mother, leaue the iuste traunple, and take vniuste idelnesse. Of idel motion and outragious thoughtes the eyes take licence without leaue, the mynde altred, and the wyll is hurt: and finally chyn-
king

AVRELIVS.

king to be the white, that amorous men
note at, they remayne as a butte ful of
all vices. And in conclusion there is no-
thyng that more rechaceth the halle of
the thought (in this plat) than the had
sette a worke therewith.

What thought Agarcus the emper-
our toke for the mariage of his
doughters. Capitulo. xxxviii.



In the good emperour
Agarcus, hauing a clere
vnderstanding, and a qui-
ete wit, toke ryght great
bede of thinges that wer
paste, prudently waipng
thynges present, & thyn-
ges to come. Seyng that the pordicion
of prynces, lay all in wyll, totally gy-
uynge them selfe eyther to strange thyn-
ges, forgettyng their owne, or els to en-
tend to their owne, nothyng regardyng
straunge thynges. His heart was so a-
greable to hym, that neyther the hyghe
busineses of them: nor for all the affai-
res of his house, he would not leue one
of thempyre vnsped. I saie this, bicause
this emperour Agarcus had fourte dought-
ters

ters

M A R C V S

ters, whose names were Lucille, Por-
 sena, Matrina and Domicia. Alresem-
 bled they; mother in excellent beaurie,
 but they resembled not their father in
 honestie and vertuousenes. And though
 they were in gouernaunce vnder they;
 mapstresses out of his presence, yet he
 had them alwaies in memorie: and the
 elder they were, the more studie and
 thoughte he toke for them: and whan
 thei came to complete age, he studied to
 fynd prouision for them. It was a lau-
 dable custome, that the doughters of
 the officers of the senate, shuld not ma-
 ry without lycence, nor the emperours
 doughters withoue the aduysment of
 the senate. Than it was so, that one of
 the sated pryncesses his doughters, be-
 yng of aage, and of wyll to be maryed,
 hir father seying hir importunitie, to ac-
 complishe hir desyre, because he was
 sycke, he sent for faustine, that she shuld
 goe and commune in the senate. The
 which with all hir power she withstode
 bycause that secretly she had treated
 for an other maryage for her doughter.
 And openly she excused by; selfe, sayng
 that hy; doughter was so younge and
 tender of age: and as the goddes hadde
 giuen

A V R E L I V E.

ginen age sufficient to the father, so had
 not the daughter of peres. When the
 perour vnderstode this, he called Fau-
 stine to his bedde syde, where as he lay,
 and said: Wyuers thinges are dissimu-
 led in particuler persons, the lest of the
 is not to be suffered in them that should
 enligne all other: The prynce is neuer
 well obeyed, but yf he haue good cre-
 dence amonge his people. I saie this
 Faustine, bycause you do one thyng in
 secreete, and saie an other openly, Were
 in faileth the credence of so high a lady,
 and putteth inconuenience in the aucto-
 ritee of so gret an empyre. Yf ye suppose
 my good desyres be sinister in your hert
 for the welthe of your owne chyldren:
 how shuld we hope than in any of your
 good worthes for the chyldren of straun-
 gers: It semeth to you better, to gyue
 your daughter to them that demaund hir
 of the mother, and refuse them that the
 father doth chuse. Certaynely bycause
 ye be a woman, you deserue pardon: but
 in that you ar a mother, you augmente
 your fault. Do you not know, that mari-
 ages are guided some by fortune, and
 some by vertues and wisdomes? Suche
 as demaund the daughters of the fathers,
 beleue

MARCVS

beleeue me, theyr eies beene more vppon
 theyr owne propre brilitie, than vppon
 the welth of an other. I know wel, you
 bypunge forth the chyldren but the gods
 wyll mary them, sitz they haue endow-
 ed theim with so meruailous beautie.
 Dooe you not knowe, that the beau-
 tie of womanne setteth straungers on
 desyre, and putteth neyghbours in sus-
 pection, to great men it gyueth force, to
 meane men enuie, to the parentes infamie,
 and peryll to the persone selfe.
 With great peyne it is keppe that is de-
 sired of many. Of trouthe I say the be-
 autie of women is nothyng but a spghe
 for ydell folke: and an erly waking for
 theym that be lyghte: where as of the
 straunge desyres liethe the renoume of
 theym selfe. And I deny not but that a
 lyght person sercheth sooner a woman
 with a fayre face than one of honeste li-
 uing: But I saie, that a woman, that
 is married onely for hir beautie, many
 hope in hir age to haue a sorp life. It is
 an infallible rule, that she that was ma-
 ried for hir fairnesse, is hated for hyr
 fowlenes. O what trauayle he offereth
 hym selfe vnto, that marryeth a faire
 woman: It behoneth hym to suffre his
 pryde,

AVRILIUS

ynke, for beantie and folpe adwaite go
together. Also he must suffice his expen-
ses, for folp in the head, and beantie in
the face beeth two woundes, that fester
the lyfe, and wasteth the goodes. Also
he must suffice her riottes, for a fayre
woman will that none but she have her
reynaudementes in the houle. Also
he must suffice his nice mynionnesse, for
every fayre woman will passe hit as an
pfecture: also he must suffice his presump-
tion, for every fayre woman will have
preeminence before al other. Finally he
that marieth with a fayre woman, appa-
raileth him to a right great adventurt,
and I shall tell you wherfore. Surely
Carthage was never so environed with
desicions, as the houle of a fayre wo-
man is with light persons. In unhappy
husbande, when his spire is at rest,
and the body sleppng, than these light
persons will come about his hous, dy-
ng his body with idolp, castng ides-
ies to the windowes, scalng the wal-
lea with ladders, or clymng ouer, syn-
gng sweete songes, playing on dyvers
instrumentes, watchng at the gates,
teatng with handes, bng ouer the
hous, and wastng at every corner ther

MARCVS VA

of. Al theſe thinges in caſe they ſhote at
the pꝛicke of the womans beautie, they
leauē not to ſhote at the butte of theſe
rowfull husbādes good name. And
whether this be true or not, reporteth
to my ſelfe, that married me with your
beautie: and let them witte of my re-
mouement that go ſo about the citie. I ſate
much, but cruelly I felt more. A man
complaineth of the goddis for giuing
hym a ſoule wyfe among his deſtemes.
Whype ſyluer is not wroughte but in
blake pitche: and the tender tree is not
conſerued but by the hard rynde, I ſate
the man that marieth a ſoule wyfe, lea-
deth a ſure lyfe, let euery man chuſe as
he liſteth: and I ſate, a man that mar-
ieth a faire wyfe, caſteth his good name
at haſard, and putteth his life in perill.
At the infamy of our predecessours ſhode
in one exerciſing of dedes of armes: &
now al the paſtime of the Romain yow-
the is to ſerue ladies: Whan a woman
is ſaid to be faire, than euery man go-
eth thither, and taketh great pꝛeſent to
ſerue hir, & the women well be ſeene, I
ſay Faustin, you neuer ſaw a yong ſam-
ſel Romain greatly renowned in beauty,
but either in dede or in ſuſpection there

AVRELIVS. R

folowed some yll name of her. In that
 time that y haudred, y haud herd of
 many faire women, both of Grece, Italy
 & other, & Rome, and they be not put in
 remembrance, because they were faire,
 but for the great perils and hevy chan-
 ces that by theyr beauties felte in the
 world. For in manner by reason of their
 excellent beauties they were vilified in
 theyr own landes, and by theyr infamy
 named through all the worlde. 11. 10.
 When the realm of Carthage was
 flourisshinge in riches and happy in
 riches, they ruled the common welth by
 wyle philosophers, and surkeyned it by
 by secret armes on the see. Arminius the
 philosopher was as greatly esteemed a-
 mong them, as Homer among the Gree-
 kes, or Cicero amonge the Romaynes,
 he lyued in this worlde sytte those yer-
 es. 11. 11.
 Of the whiche happy age. Irr.
 yer he ruled quietly as a baron mo-
 peable of mynd: and was as strange
 to women, as famillier with his booke.
 When the senate seynge he was so bio-
 den with the common welth, and with-
 disten from all naturall recreations,
 they despyred hym with great instance
 to bee marped, because that memorye
myght

MARCVS IV

might be had of so perfect a wife as
in time to come: and the more importu-
nate they were, the more he refused,
and said, I will not be married: for
the be foule, I shall abhorre him: if he
be cyche, I muste suffer him: if he be
poore, I muste mainteyn him: if he be
faire, I must take heed to him: if he be
wicked, I can not suffer him: and the last
possessence of al these, is sufficient to
a. M. men: With such wordes this
man excused hym selfe: and he in his
age, by reason of his great study, lost
his syght. And the solitarines of his
twere liberties constrained him to take
company of a woman and she had by
him a daughter, of whom descended the
noble Simileares of Carthage, compe-
titours of the Scipions of Rome, the
whiche shewed no lesse worthynesse in
defence of Carthage, than ours were
fortunate to augmente Rome.

Tell me Augustine, may not such sus-
pection fall vpon your daughters,
though their vertue succout in the deed
and their honestie assure their persons?
I will discover a secret taryng to you.
There is nothyng, that can be so quickly
committed if a womanne be enuoy

AVRELIUS. M

looked with than aspers and feminine
 maintenance. He that taketh they best
 and with you desire the picture those
 images, and I gently may be stay now.
 There is nothing so certain, but that
 the desire of an other is master for the
 same on yll. And I thought you knowe,
 that the most honest women, by our ma-
 nor are more despised. Certainly they
 chastitines and keeping close, be a
 defence in defence of our honour. We
 were not, that bloud richesse nor beautie
 of the unhappie matrone Lucrece was
 the cause, that she was defiled: But the
 chastities of her visage, the gentillesse of
 her person, the purenesse of her life, the
 keeping of her selfe close in her house, the
 modestie of her time, the credence as
 along her neighbours, and the greater
 treasure that she had amonge stran-
 gers, wished the scolythe Tarquine to
 committe with his aduour by force.
 What thinke you? Wherof came this?
 I will shew you. We that be yll, are
 so yll, that as yll we see the goodnesse
 of them that be good. This is no fault
 in the tables of ymine, but rather in the
 unmayntayn goddis. They; cleane hone-
 sty defende our conuall mallice. I thought
 you

you saie your daughter is to goe to be
 married. What you not knowe; that the
 good father ought to indurment his son
 nes for their young age; and to provide
 for his daughters while they be young.
 Of a trouthe, if the fathers be fathers,
 and the mothers mothers, no sooner as
 the goddis haue gyven them a daugh-
 ter, forthwith they ought to fix in their
 hertes a new remembrance, and not to
 gette it, till they haue prouided their
 daughter an husbando. The fathers
 ought not to care for riches, nor the mo-
 ther for high lignage, the better to ma-
 ry them. So what while the one and
 the other, the tyme passeth, & the daugh-
 ters were aged; and then after this
 manner, they be so old to be married, and
 to abide alone, they bee maydens; and
 to serue, they be women, they lyue in
 perue, the fathers in thought, the pa-
 rentes in suspicion, least they shoulde
 be late. O what greate ladies haue I
 knowne, daughters of great senators,
 and not for faute of ryches, nor of ver-
 tues in their persons, but all onely for
 lacke of tyme, & dyspyng of one house
 to an other, so that at last sodern death
 came to the fathers, and no providence
 made

made for the doughties: And that by the
new lease in grace, which under the same
edge they break, and some buried with
sins, and some with the sword: I have
seen the lake of the Ishemora, where
he is buried: And command the fa-
ther in marriage, to leave, to travel
and to die, but to marry one virtuous
daughter, lest her marriage be a
pity, ye and suffer the water come to
the mouth, stopper drops of blood, the
lake of the Ishemora, his wife oil, his son
and his mother, and adventure his
reason. And the mother in the lake were
wifely for the doughties, and not less
gracious to the sonnes. For sonnes by
the lake of men are bound to discover
a group of the world: but the dought
by the good lake ought not to go out
of the house. I fate more over, that as
things possible that falling, to the
wife to change to young doughties, who
the thinketh not their time lost, and su-
perfluous unto the day of their mari-
age. Homer saith: it was the custom of
ladies of Greece, to count the years of
their life not from the time of their birth,
but from the time of their marriage. As if
our command of a Greek hit me, the
204 R IIII would

bold and more. xx. pence, if it were. The
pence like she was married, thought it
were. It. pence like she was borne. And
when after they had a house to govern
and to command, that day she began
to live. The melon after it is ripe, and
abideth still in the garden, can not es-
cape, but either rotterly, or els must be
gathered. It saie the mayden that run-
neth longe till she be married, can not es-
cape, eyther to bee taken or infamed. I
will saie no more. As soone as the gra-
pes be ripe, it becometh that they be ga-
thered: so it is necessary, that the wo-
man thae is come to perfect age, be ma-
ried and kept. And the father, that send-
th, casteth petill out of his house, and
springeth hym selfe out of thought, and
conceiteth well his daughter.

The of a synnelle wherof the emper-
our died, of his age, and wherof
he dyed. Capit. xxix.

Marcus the emperor beinge olde,
not onely by age, but by trouble
and great paynes that he had
ben and suffered in warres. In that vil-
lage of his empire, and last pce of his
age,

AYRELIUS.

Byr, and of the tradition of Rome. b. c.
 and as he was in battayn hold cal-
 les Hungarie with his hoste, and com-
 manded his sonne, at a citie called Clebe-
 rowe, situate vpon a river, that had, in
 the winter houses and being in wynter,
 and the waters great, and beate great
 weather, he being in the fieldes aboute
 the xxv. day of Decembre: sodainly
 vpon a nyght as he wente with lantern-
 nes about his campe, there toke hym a
 sickness or palley in one of his armes,
 so that he coulde not helde his speare,
 nor yet drawe his swerde, nor put on
 his owne clothes. Then this good em-
 perour charged with yeres, and much
 with thoughts, and wynter increa-
 syng both many great snowes, and fre-
 sing of the earth, ther fel on him an other
 malady called LpARGE, the whiche put
 the Barbarians in great hardines, and
 he was of great heuines, his person in
 paine, and his frendes in great subiect
 of his helthe. There was done to him
 all the experience that coude be founde
 by medicines as vnto great pynners, and
 lawes accustomed. And all this was
 to no purpose: by reason the malady was
 yecous, and the emperoure charged

ib.

with

with yeres, and the ayre of the lande
 was contrary to hym, and the ayre deli-
 ued hym nothing: and also he was not
 well intended. And as men of worship
 do sette more by theyr honour than by
 theyr lyues, and had rather dye with
 honour, than lyue dyshonoured: so as-
 sure their honoure, they adventure every
 houre theyr lyues, and had leaue but
 one houre of honour, than a C. yeres of
 lyfe: So thus this sicke emperour, cau-
 ten hym selfe to be borne all about his
 campe, and went to see the scarmyche,
 and would slepe in the felde: the whiche
 he was not without greatte perill of
 his lyfe, nor without great traualle of
 his person. Thus on a daye the empe-
 rour, being ill a great feuer and leuen
 bloude, hadde a great clamour of myght
 in the felde made by his men that had
 brought home greatte quantite of so-
 rage, and theyr enemyes set on them to
 resiste it: there was a medlyng on bothe
 parties, the one to beate a waye, and the
 other to defend. The Romans for by-
 gge, had what they coude, to beate it a-
 waye. And the Hungarines for whome
 it came, made resistance: They medled
 to one with another, and their debate
 was

AVRELINUS.

was so cruel, that there was slaine. The
captaynes of the Romans, the worst
of them was more worthe, than all the
sourage that they had won. And of the
Hungariens were so many slayne, that
all the sourage that they had losse, was
not so muche worthe: Certainely consi-
dering the crueltie that was there don,
the profite that came thereby, was very
small to the Romans, so that there went
but a fewe abate with the sourage, &
of the Hungariens fewer, was left to
make resistance. The emperor sepyng
the ill order, and that by the reason of
his bloude lettyng and fever, he was
not present at that rate, he toke suche a
heapnes at his hert whereby he fel into
suche a traunce, that it was thought he
had ben deade; and so he late. The next
dayes and two daies, that he coude se no
light of the skye, nor speake to any per-
son. The heate of his sykkenes was
greater, and his paynes greater, he
dianhe muche and eate lytel, he coude
not slepe, his face was yelowe, and his
mouth black. Sometime he lifted up his
eyes, & oftentimes toied his handes to-
gether: He spake nothing, & sighed ma-
ny times. His throte was so drye, that
he

he coulde not spee: his eyes were becom
soore with sobbyng and wepyng.

He was greaue compassion to see the
deathe, and a greaue plage of his con
fession to his houle, and also the greaue
great losse of his warre. There was
no man loke vpon him, and fewe spake
to hym. Panatius his Secretary, be
comyng at his deathe, to see his maynt
enance his deathe, on a nyght in the pre
sence of hyuers other that were there,
he saide to hym.

70 **W**he wordes of Panatius his
Secretary to the emperoure at the
a house of his deathe. Ca. 11.



My lord, I see
no longer that can be done,
nor any hearte fitter,
eyes bittimble, nor heart
that can permyt it. My
bloud congeleth, and my
fist toes drye, the stones openeth, and
my bowle woulde passe forth: my
joyner vniouerfonder, and my
rites are troubled by cause you take not
the wise and sage counsell, the wylle
ye gaue to other that were simple.

A V R E L I V S.

I see you my lordedye, and I ought for
 to be sore displeased therewith. The so-
 gonne that I feele at my herte is, howe
 you haue lyued lyke a wise person, and
 at this houre you do like a simple man.
 I wote yere a knyght giueth the meate to
 his houle, to the intent that he shuld kepe
 him from perill, and all that the wyse
 man subiect to a longe season, oughte
 to be to passe his life with honoure, and
 to take his deathe with greater vertue.
 I right here lord, I demaunde of you,
 what profite is it to the mariner to
 knowe the carde of the see, and after to
 perishe in a tourment or tempest? What
 profite is it to a capitaine, to speke much
 of warre, and after knowe not howe to
 escape battaile? What profite it to a
 knyght to haue a good horse and to fall
 in the strete? What profite it one
 to teache another the playne way, and
 hymselfe to wander asyde? I saye,
 what profyted it the force of your lyfe,
 that you esteemed so lyttell, many times
 seekinge your deathe? And at this pre-
 sent houre, that you haue founde
 deeth, you wepe, because it wyl take
 away your lyfe? What thynges haue
 I written with mine owne hande, being
 your

MARGVS

your Secretary, diuised by your might
and profounde vnderstandinge, reach-
ching the stroke of death: What thing
was it to se the letter, that you sente
Claudine vpon the deathe of her hus-
band: What wrote you to Anthygone,
whan your sonne Merillimus dyed:
Wherin your vertue dydde comforte
his heuinesse, what bygbe thynges dyd
I wyte in the booke that you sent to the
Senate, in the pence of the great pesti-
lence, comforting them after the great
mortalitiee passed: therein you dydde
shewe them, howe lyttell men shoulde
set by deeth, and what ploffre foloweth
therby. And I haue scene and hard you
blasfeme death in your lyfe, and now you
wepe, as thonghe you shuld spure here
afyl. Sith that the goddis commaunde
it, and your age requyret it, and your
sykenes is the cause, and nature permit-
teth it, and fortune consenteth to it, and
is the satall desenie of vs all, than you
must needs die. The traualis that come
of necessitie, ought with a good courage
to be abyden. For the couragious fee-
leth yat so sore the hard strokes, as the
weake that falleth, or be bee foughten
with you at but oue mā, & not thow: and

AVRELIUS.

brought to haue one deathe and not
 two. Therefore why wold ye for one life
 haue two deathes, enterryng the body
 and sleynge the spprite with sighes?
 After so many perylls of longe lyfe to
 take a sure porte, wyl ye lyfte vp the
 sayles, and entre agayne into the wa-
 towe of the see, for to engloutte you?
 In the see you haue chased the bulle,
 and escaped his woodnes, and now ye
 refuse to entte into the parke, where
 you maye surely slee hyin. you make as-
 saute wth vncoulyte of your life, and wil
 bye atrepyng the deathe. you haue
 foughte. xlii. yeres in the campe of my-
 serie, & now you feare to entte into your
 sepulchre: you haue got out of the bush-
 es and thornes wherin you were clo-
 sed: and now at this houre you com-
 ble in the saye waie: you haue had in
 certayn the domage of your berth: & now
 ye putte in doubte the profyte of your
 deathe: you are entred into the campe
 of desyng of the worlde: and now you
 wold tourne your backe, whā it is tyme
 to put your handes to armes. Lxi. yere
 you haue fought agaynst fortune: and
 now you close your eyes, bycause for-
 tune wil strike you. Glai it, because that
 wil.

MARCVS

willingly you refuse this present be-
 che, the whiche will cause vs, to haue your
 lyfe passed suspect. What do you, myghty
 and mighty prince? why wepe you like
 a chyld? and why sygh you, as one in
 dyspayre? if you wepe because ye shall
 die, why did you laugh so much in your
 lyfe tyme? for of muche laughynge in
 the lyfe tyme, cometh muche wepyng at
 the death. Will you do that you cannot
 doe, and not be contente with that you
 may do. The ground and pasture, that
 is common, you wolde tyme to your
 owne, the renoume of the common weith
 you appyed to your owne heritage. Of
 a subtyl or loue, you wolde make your
 perpetuall ryght. I wylI shewe you
 what he deed. All be deed and shall die.
 And among all other you wolde all on
 lyue lyue, wylI ye haue that of the gods
 des, that they be goddis for? What is,
 because you are mortal, that they make
 you immortal. And you to haue that
 by mynilege, which they haue by nature.
 I that am but simple, demaunde on
 thing of you my lord, that are ancient
 and wise, which is the greatest or least
 welthe, to dye well or lyde ill. No man
 well no man can attaine certainly, in
 hunger

AVRELIVS.

hunger, thyrst, solitarines, persecution,
 yll fortune, sycknesse, and disfauours,
 this can be called no life, but rather a
 deache. If an ancient manne woulde
 make a shewe and booke of his life, from
 the tyme of his byrthe, to the lasing in
 his graue, and the bodye to shewe all
 that it hath suffered by dolours, and the
 hearte to discouer all the strokes of for-
 tune. I thynke, that the goddis wold
 haue matuaple therof, and men woulde
 be abashed therof, that the body coude
 suffer so much, and the hert beare it. I
 holde the Brekes wisest, whiche wepe,
 whan theyr children are borne, and thei
 sing, whan an olde man dyeth: but the
 Romaynes sing at the byrthe of theyr
 children, and wepe whan thei dye olde.
 Certainly to laughe at the deache of
 them, that dye olde, sith they dye so
 laughe, and to wepe at the byrth of chil-
 dren, sith thei are born to wepe, and that
 the life abyeth the sentence of yll, pro-
 ueth wel, that the deache is good.
 Wil you, that I say one veritie to you?
 I haue alwaies seene, that counsell in
 the wysest manne, soonest sayeth hym.
 Suche as woulde gouerne all thynges,
 by theyr opinions, of necessitie in some.

MARCVS

or in the moſte parte, they doo erre and
 faile. O Maie my dere lord, wene you
 that haue cauſed to bury ſo many, that
 ſome ſhoulde not bury you in lyke wiſe?
 And you haue ſeene the ende of theſe
 dayes, ſo other ſhall ſee the ende of your
 yeres. Therfore me ſemerth, it were bet-
 ter for you to dye, and to go your waie,
 to attayne ſo muche wealth, than to
 ſcape, and to lyue in muche myſery. If
 you feele death, I haue no meruayle,
 ſithe you bee a man. But I meruayle,
 that you doo not diſſimule it, ſithe you
 are diſcrete. They that haue clere vn-
 derſtādyng, ſele many thynges at their
 harte, that putteth them to payne, whi-
 che they ſhewe not outwarde, for the
 preſumption of honour. If all the pop-
 ſon, that is in a heuy harte, were ſwed
 abroad in the weake fleſh by ſmall grei-
 nes, noo walles ſhoulde ſuffiſe vs to
 rubbe, nor our nayles to ſcratche. For
 certaynly the death is but a play, wher
 in the player, if he be a pre, aduentured
 but lyttell, to wyne muche: and they
 that playe, maie ſee well, that this is a
 myly play, and not a ſtronge. And that
 alſo, as well they leeſe, that haue but a
 ſmal carde, not fearyng death, as they
 that

AVRELIVS.

that with a great carde, loue long lyfe.
 What thyng is bethe, but a trap doore,
 wherin the sent is closed, in the whiche
 is sold al the miseries of our lyfe. This
 the goddis doo chaunge vs, fro an olde
 filthy hous into a new. And what other
 thing is the sepulchre, but a castel, wher
 in we be closed agaynst the assautes of
 the lyfe? Of trouth you ought more to
 conere, to take that you fynde at your
 deathe, than the hurte of that you shall
 leaue in your lyfe. I demaunde of you,
 what it is that doeth you most peyn, in
 lesyng of the lyfe? If you peyne your
 selfe, for Helie Fabrice your wife, be-
 cause you leue her yonge, weep not your
 self, for she is wel thought on in Rome,
 for any peril of your life. And as longe as
 she knoweth it, I am in certayn, she will
 not weepe muche, though you go your
 way. Thā you ought not to wepe for le-
 uing hir. These yōg damselfs, married to
 old mē, haue euer their eyes fixed in the
 berth of their husbāds. And holly fasten
 their herts on him, & thei think to mary
 with again. Thei wepe with their eyes,
 & laugh in their herts. And think not co-
 trary, though she be an emperesse, & cā not
 find an other emperor to be hir husbā.

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MARCVS

yet she wil fynde some other man. For if
 thei be so determined, thei wil change
 their robes of silke, for a gowne of cloth
 I dare wel saie, thei more desyre a yong
 sheparde than an old emperour. If you
 care for your chylde, whom ye must
 leaue behinde you: I can not tell, why
 you shuld do so: For if your deathe be
 displeasent to them, much more disple-
 sent them, that you lyue so long. It is
 great payne to the childe, not to desyre
 the deathe of his father: For if he be
 poore, it is for feare, how they shuld be
 mainteined: yf he be ryche, then by cause
 he shalbe his heire. They syng and you
 wepe, you fere the deathe, and wepe, be-
 cause you leaue your life. Do you not
 know, that after the night cometh the
 dewy moynynge: and after that cometh
 the bright son: and after the son cometh
 a dark cloude, and after ageine cometh
 faire wether, and after that cometh
 lightnyng and thonder: and than agayne
 clere ayre. Also I sai, that after infancie
 cometh childhod, than cometh yowth,
 and age after that, and so at laste com-
 meth death, and after death, fearful hope
 of a sure lyfe. Sir, beleue me, in one
 thing. The beginning, the meane, and
 the

AVRELIVS.

the ende every man hath. Certainly, if
you had ben taken as the floure fro the
herbe: yf you had ben cut grene fro the
tree, if you had ben grafted in pye-
mye: if you had ben eaten in the lower-
mes of the byne: I meane, if in the fyrr
youth, whan life was at the sweetest, if
death hadde come and knocked at the
gate, ye shulde haue had cause to be so-
ry: but as nowe, the walles are weake,
and redy to falle, & the floure withered,
and the berry putrified, the speare ful of
molle, and can not drawe the knife out
of the shethe. Derein you haue desired
the world, as if you had neuer known
the worlde. Ixii. yeres you haue ben pri-
soner in the dongeon of the body: and
now whan the shakles or gyues shulde
be taken from you, you complaine: you
sayde wold make new of other netes.
He that thinketh it not sufficient to liue
Ixii. yeres in this verbe, or to dye in this
life, he will not be content with. lx. y.
Auguste the Emperour said, that af-
ter þ men had liued. l. yeres, they ought
to die, or els cause them selve to be slain,
because þ vnto that time, is the felicitie
of man. He that lyueth beyond þ tyme,
passeth his time in heuines, in greuous

Stii

aches

MARCVS

aches, deth of his children, and losse of his goodes, in importunities of his children in law, buryng of his frendes, sustentynge procelle, payng of dettes, and other infinite traualles: So that it were better with his eyes closed to abide the in his graue, than with his eyes open, to abide them in his life daies. Certeinly it is a fortune of all fortunes, and be its right p[ro]p[er]tie with the goddis, that at fifty yeres, leaueth his life. For all the time that he liueth after, is in decaying and neuer vpright, but collyng, relyng, and redy to fall. O Mark my dere lord, do you not know, that by the same way that lyfe gothe, cometh deth? It is. I. x. yere that ye haue sought the one frome the other. And whan ye went fro Rome where as you left your house, ye wente to Illirike, where you left a great penitence: and now you are retourned into Hungarie. Do you not knowe, that as soone as you wer bozne, to gouerne the erth, incontinent death issued out of his sepulchre, to fynde your life? And if you haue honoured ambassadours of the straunge kynges, muche more ye ought to honour deathe, that cometh fro the goddis. What lordshipp can be losse in
this

AVRELIVS.

this life, but you shall fynde greater in
the death. Are you not remembered, whā
Iulcan my sonne in lawe poisoned me,
because he desired my goodes more thā
my lyfe, howe you, my lord, for loue
that you had to me, gaue me comforte
and counsell, for the deth of my sorow-
full yowth: and you said to me, the gods
his were cruell, in killyng of them that
be yonge, and pittiefull, whā they bury
them that be olde. And also you sayd to
me, Comfort thy selfe Panutius: For if
thou dydst lyue to dye, nowe than thou
dyest to lyue. Therefore right hygh and
myghty pryncce, I saye to you, as you
sayed to me: and I counsayle you, as
you counsayled me, and that you gaue
me, I gyue you agayne. Finally, of
this reappng, take the best in woothe,
and lette the rest abyde.

Howe the emperour demanded to
haue in wryting, al that the se-
cretarie had sayed. Ca. xlii.

AND as of the contentynge of the
will, oftentimes procedeth helth
and ease of the body, the emperor
was well satisfied with the wordes of

S illi

Pa

MARCVS

Sanctus, whiche he eloquently bited
 ted, and with profound counsell, hardi-
 ly and familiarly, and in due time, as a
 good frende. Great compassion it is, to
 them that wold die, whan it is shewed
 them what thei ought to do. For of the
 that be about the bed, some robbe hym
 of his money, some serue him wel, some
 holde þ place, to be his heire, some gaze
 for giffes, some wepe for losing of him,
 some laugh for the gaines they haue by
 his death, & so in this maner the poore
 patient, haupng many, lokyng for their
 profite, hath no bodye to counsel hym.
 We se daily, that seruantes, whan they
 se the goyng out of the candell of lyfe,
 care not for the clensyng of theyr lordes
 byces. And thereof commeth, that as
 sone as he is deed, streight waie begin-
 neth to stycke. And so I saie, that the
 ende of his lyfe, is the begynnyng of
 his infamy. All they that were there,
 as well the olde seruantes as the newe,
 belongyng to the emperour, capitaynes
 of warre, and other, were not a lytell
 abashed, of the saynge of Sanctus,
 and they all allowed his sayinge, and
 saied, he was woorthy to haue the go-
 uernance of the Emppye. The good
 empe-

AVRELIVS.

emperour, al the season that Panutius spake, wepte with deepe sighes fro his herte. And bycause he was so sore greued, he coulde not forthwith gyue hym an answer: At the last he commaunded Panutius to geue hym in wrytyng, all that he had saied, to the entent that he might study thereon. For he saied, it was no reason, to forget thinges so wel said. So all the rest of that night, the Secretarie occupied hym selfe, to put in wrytyng the same sayng: and the nexte day he deliuered it to the emperour, whiche toke it, and looked thereon all the daie: and kept it still in his handis, and often tymes red thereon. And the nexte nyght the emperour sent for the Secretary, and in open audience he saied, as foloweth.

The aunswere of the emperour to Panutius. Cap. xlii.

Happy was the mylk, that thou suckedst in Dacie, and the breade that thou dyddest eate at Rome, and the learyng, that thou haddest in Athenes, and thy byngynge vp in my house. For in my lyfe, thou haste welleserued me, and at my death, thou haste well

S.v.

well

M A R C V S

welles counsailled me. I commaunde
 Commodus my sonne, to rewarde the
 for thy good seruice. And I praye the
 goddis, to recompence the for thy coun-
 cell. The rewarde for diuers seruices a
 man maie make: but the rewarde for
 good counsell, al the goddis haue neede
 to do. The greattist rewarde, that one
 frende maie do to an other, is in a great
 and weyghtie matter, to succour hym
 with good counsell. All the trauailes
 of the worlde are weightie, but the tra-
 uaille of death is the weightiest: all be
 perillous, but that is mooste perillous
 all ben great, but this is the greatest:
 al thinges haue an ende at last by deeth,
 save onely deathe, whose ende is vn-
 known. He that is hurte with deathe,
 is as he, that is sycke of the sleppynge
 will, hauing a quicke vnderstandynge,
 and yet he knoweth no man: and many
 thynges being offered to him, he can de-
 termine vpon none, yet againe I saie,
 he is a true and faithfull frende, that
 in such tyme, will giue good counsel to his
 friend. Al thet that here this that I saie,
 will saie, that it is true. But I sweare,
 that no man can knowe it perfitely but
 he that is in case, that I am in, redy to
 die

M A R C V S

the shepe feareth the wolfe, and the calfe
the catte, and the catte the dogge, and
the dogge the man, and all onely their
feare is, that they dye to bee slayn.
Than if these brute bestes refuse death,
not fearynge the fightynge with fury-
ous spierres, nor the iniuryinge with
the goddis: How muche rather ought
wee to feare the deathe? For we are
feare to be torne in pieces with the in-
uries in theyr peynes, or to be receyved in
pleasure with the goddis. Therefore I
saye, that the naturall feare of death, I
haue overcome with the byrdell and li-
berties of reason. I thynkest thou Pa-
nthus, that I se not my grasse wasted,
and my grapes gathered, that my house
breaketh, and that I haue nothing
lefte, but the stocke of the grapes, the
skynne of the fleshe, and but one ouer-
blaste of all my lyfe? Thou seest well,
that by the tokens, the exercise is seene.
And nettes be caste in the rivers, and in
the parkes bulles ben chased. I say that
the rumour of death holdeth in sauerie
the life that is in me, at this houre redy
armed agaynst death. I make battaile
with deathe, at this houre barayn and
naked of life: and so redy to entre into

AVRELIVS.

The sepulchre: at this houre I shall en-
 tre in to the campe, where as I shal not
 be gored with bulles, but shall be eaten
 with wormes: and finally, I shall go,
 whens I can not flee. Thus I hope
 to dyng death. And this I saie, because
 thou shalt knowe, that I knowe it, and
 that thou shalt fele, that I fele. And to
 the intent thou lyue unbegyled, I will
 telle the a secrete. The nouelties that
 thou haste seene in me, as in abhorryng
 meat, bityng of slepe, liuyng alone
 without company, drownyng in sighes
 and pastyme in weepnyng. Thou maist
 well thinke, what torment ought to
 be in the sea of my hert, wha suche trem-
 blinges and motions of erthe and ray-
 nes are set in the erth of my body. Shal
 I knowe the, wherfore my body is in this
 trouble, and my hart in suche trouble?
 The cause why I suffre death so gre-
 uously, is that I leaue my sonne Com-
 manded in this lyfe, in a perillous age for
 hym, and suspectous for the empire. By
 the floures the frutes are knowen, and
 the vines in burchenyng, by the colt, the
 helle is knowen, whether he shall bee
 meane or stubborn for labour or earlage:
 and in the yowth, the yong man is know-
 en

137
 137

MARCVS

men: and by the lytell that I set my
lyfe by my sonne Comode, I feare me,
it wyl be lesse after my deathe. Thou
knowest not why I saie thus. And I
saie it not without cause: for my sonne
Commode is very young, and yet youn-
ger in witte. He is of an yll inclinaci-
on, but he be forced: he gouerneth hym
selfe by his owne witte and vnderstan-
dyng, as though he were a man of ex-
perience: he knoweth but lytell, and ca-
rethe for nothyng. Of the tyme passed
he hath no knowledge: all onely he oc-
cupieth hym selfe with the tyme present.
Fynally, by that I se with myne eyes,
and thynke in my heart, I feare me the
person of my sonne shalbe in peryll, and
the memoire of his fathers house pe-
rished. For his mother hath so
nurtured him so delicately: & by a hard an-
ny grounde he hath a great way to go.
He entreth as now alone into the path
of youth without any guyde: I feare
me he shal goe out of the right way,
and wander in the bushes and thornes
of vices. O Vanutius, hearken what
I saie, I saie it not withoute feares,
thou seest that my son remaineth yethe,
young, and at libertie. Wishes you the
solysa

A V R E L I V S.

solitarie, and libertee ben. ill. pesti-
lences, that enpoison the pynce, and
waste the common welthe: but sleethe
them that be alive, and infamerh them
that be deed. Beleue me one thyng, dy-
uers graces are requisite to susteine dy-
uers vertues. With the fairest women
the brothell houses are peopled, the
mooste vilaines are made ruffiens: the
mooste hardye are robbers in woddes:
the curcheffe of vnderstandyng, of re-
proue fooles: and the mooste subtylle
become cheues. I saie, that such as are
clothed with dyuers graces of nature,
lacke the futes of acquired vertues.

We maie saie, they holde in theyr han-
des a knyfe, wherwith they crype and
hurt them selues: fire on their shulders,
wherwith they bren: and a corde about
theyr necke, wherewith they hange:
daggers at their stomacke, wherewith
they are slayne: thornes at the theyr
syde, wherewith they are pricked: a sta-
py wal afore their eyes, where they stum-
ble, and stumbling fall, and falling they
lose their life, and win death. The great
trees of whom we haue fruite in win-
ter, & shadow in sommer, first beplanted
the rotes fast in þe entrails of the erth, or

guyt

MARCVS

euer their waueryng boughes at aduun-
 tured in the wynde. Marke Denoting
 marke well. The manne that from his
 youth hath set before hym the feare of
 the goddis, and the shame of menne, is
 habited in vertues, and he that accom-
 paniethe with them that bee vertuous,
 maynteineth trouth to euery man, and
 liueth without prejudice of any man.
 Malitious fortune maie somtyme cleue
 the barked of the welthe of suche a tree,
 wyther the floure in his yowthe, breake
 the leaues of his fauoure, gather the
 fruite of his trauaile, breake downe a
 bough of his offices, and bowe downe
 the height of his counsell: yet for al the
 strokes that the wynde can strike, it can
 not be plucked vp by the rote. Certainly
 the sonne that the father hath endued
 with graces, and the son applyeng hym
 in vices, ought not to bee borne in this
 worlde: and if he be borne, to be buried
 quicke. For the fathers sweate by daye,
 and wathe by nyght, to leaue honoure
 to their childerne, whyche the fathers
 bye of the goddis with syghes, and the
 mothers deliuered of them with payne,
 and bring them vp with trauaile: and
 the child proueth so, that he geneth gre-
 uous

AVRELIVS.

lions age to the father in his lyfe, and
 great infancy after his deatch. I consy-
 der well, that the prince Comode, beyng
 young and folde, agaynst his will, for-
 bare vices, and I feare me, that after
 my deathe, he will hate vertues. I re-
 membre diuers of his age, haue inheri-
 ted the empire, which were so hardy in
 theyr liues, that they deserved to be cal-
 led tyrantes after thei bettes. Exam-
 ple of Denys renoumed tyrant of Sicil
 whiche dyed them that coulde inuente
 vices, as our Rome rewardeth theym
 that conquere realmes. What greater
 praye can be in a tyrant, than to make
 more praye to him, the that be vicious:
 Also I forget not the foure kinges, that
 succeded after great Alexander, as Dtho-
 dome, Antiochus, Silusius, and Antigo-
 nus. Whiche the Grekes called greate
 tyrantes: All that Alexander had got-
 ten to his renoumed triumphes, they lost
 by theyr viciousnes. And in this maner
 the worlde that Alexander had deuided
 amonge them, iiii. came to the handes
 of no more than foure hundred. For Antigo-
 nus was slaine by that had coste his
 life Alexander so muche, and was so
 young in his age, and so bolde in his
 realme

realme, that in mockerie in the stede of
a crowne of golde, he wore a garlande
of yute: and in stede of a scepter, he bare
a thysle in his ryght hande: and after
that maner, he would sitte amonge his
men, and whan he spake to straungers.
I laie shame to the yong man so to doo,
but I meruaile that the sadde and wise
men of Grece suffered it.

¶ I remembre also Caligula the, till
emperour of Rome, a younge man, in
whose tyme it was harde to know, whi
che was the greater, either the disobe-
dience of the people to their lord, or the
hatrede, that the lord bare to the peo-
ple. And this yong prince went so farre
out of the waie in his youthe, and was
so farre wyde from reason in his tyran-
nies, that euery man studyed, howe to
take his lyfe from hym: and he studyed
to slea euery man. He wrote these wor-
des in a table of golde: Wolde to god,
that all Rome had but one head, to the
intent that with one stroke, I myght
stryke it of.

¶ I also remembre Tyberie, sonne ad-
optiue of good Auguste, called August,
because he augmented Rome. But this
good olde prince dyd not so muche aug-
ment

AVRELIVS. M

ment it in his life, but this pong success
 foud destroyed it muche more after his
 death. The hate that the Romayn peo-
 ple had agens Tyberie in his life, was
 right well shewed after his death. For
 the same date that he died, or when he
 was slayne, the people made dyuers
 processions, and the Senatours offered
 greatte gyftes in the temples, and the
 priestes offered great sacrifices to their
 goddis, to the intent that they shoulde
 not receyue the soule of the sayd Tibe-
 rie into theyr glozpe, but to sende it to
 furies of hell.

Also I mynde Patrocle, the seconde
 kyng of Corinthe, whiche inherited the
 realme, beyng but .xvi. yere of age, and
 he was so vicious of his body, and so li-
 berall of his mouth, that where as his
 father helde the realme .lx. yere, he pos-
 sessed it but .xxx. dates.

Also the ancient Tarquin the proude
 the .viij. kyng of Rome, whiche was
 ryght goddly in gesture, ryght valiane
 in armes, and of a cleane bloude, as
 an unhappye pyrate, defiled all his ver-
 tues with noughtye lynyng, in suche
 wyse, that he converted his beaurie in-
 to lecherie, his power into tyranny, for

the villany that he dyd to Locrine, the
 chaste lady of Rome, whereby he loste
 not onely his realme, but the name of
 Tarquine was banished for euer out
 of Rome. And thus I haue shewed
 I remembre cruell Nero, whiche in-
 herited, and dyed younge; and in hym
 ended the memoire of the noble Cesars;
 and by hym was renewed the memoire
 of Antigones the tyrantes. Whom this
 heft thou this tyrant woulde suffer to
 lyue, whiche slew his owne mother?
 Tell me I praye the, what herte is that
 of a childe, to slea his owne mother, to
 open the brestes that he sucked, to shed
 the bloude of her, that nourished hym
 in her armes, and to behold the entrails
 lea, wherein he was fourmed? What
 thyndest thou, that he woulde not haue
 done, sythe he committede suche an
 ill dede? The daie that Nero slew his
 mother, an oratour sayed in the Senate,
 that Agrippine his mother had deser-
 ued deathe, for chyldeinge suche a chyld
 in Rome. These three dayes, that thou
 haste sene me so altered in my mynde, all
 these thynges came before me: and I
 haue drawen them in to the depeneth
 of my herte, and disputed theym. Thus
 301

AVRELIVS.

Sonne of myne holdeth me in the gulfe
 of the sea, betwene the walwes of feare,
 and the ankers of dispaire, hoping, that
 he shoulde be good, bycause I have nour-
 ryshed hym well, and fearynge that he
 shoulde be yll, bicause his mother Fau-
 stine hath broughte hym vp wantonly,
 and the younge man is inclyned to yll.
 And as ye see a thyng made by artifice
 perryshe, and a naturall thyng laste:
 I am in greatte feare, that after my
 deathe, he will tourne that waye, that
 his mother hath chylded hym, and not
 as I have nourished hym. O how hap-
 pie were I, yf I had neuer a chyld, to
 leaue behynde me to be Emperour: Then
 a chyld myght be chosen among chyld-
 ren of good fathers, and I should not
 haue been troubled with hym, that the
 goddis haue gyuen me. I am Titus. I
 demaunde one thyng of the, whether
 thou callest moste fortunate, Vaspas-
 ian, the naturall father of Domitian,
 or elles Aetna, the father adoptiue of
 Traiane: Vaspasian was good, and
 Aetna very good, and Domitian was
 of all other moste cruell, and Traiane
 the myrrour of all clemency. Than re-
 gard howe Vaspasian in the fortune to
 haue

haue children was vnhappy, and Med-
 ua in the my fortune to haue childerne
 was happy. I knowe not why these fa-
 thers desire to haue children, sithe they
 ben the occasion of so muche trauaile.
 O Panutius, I will saie one thyng to
 the, as a frende to a frend (as thou kne-
 west well we be in this worlde) I haue
 lyued. lxxi. yeres, in which time I haue
 redde many thynges, and hadde herbe,
 seen, desired, attained, possessed, suffred,
 and rested much, and now at this tyme
 I muste dye: and of all thyng I shall
 beate nothyng awaie, bycause bothe I
 and it are nothyng. Great busynesse the
 herte hath to seche for these gooddes,
 and great trauaile to come to them, but
 without comparison the greatest do-
 lour is at the houre of the deshe, to de-
 part and leaue them. What greater dis-
 ease can be to the bodye, than sodaynly
 to be surprysed with enemies? What pe-
 rill of the sea, or losse of frendes, can be
 egall, to se a vertuous man draw to his
 deathe, to leaue the sweatte of his face,
 the auctoritee of the Emppre, the ho-
 noure of his persone, the companie of
 his frendes, the remedy of his detours
 the rewardyng of his seruantes, and

AVRELIVS.

to leaue it to a chyld, that hath not mea-
sured it, nor hath not the power to will
to merite it.

In the. ix. table of the lawes were
these wordes writen: We comande and
ordeyn, that euery father who in the o-
pinion of all men is good, shal disherite
his sonne, that is y^e in euery mans opi-
nion. Also euerye chyld, what so euer
he be, that disobeyeth his father, or rob-
berth any temple, or hurt any wydowe,
so that she bleede, flee fro the battaile,
or do any treason to a straunger, who so
euer is sonnde in any of these tye ca-
ses, lette hym be banyshted for euer the
habitation of Rome, and caste out fro
the heritage of his father.

In good sothe this lawe was good,
and in the tyme of Quintus Cincina-
te, it was ordeyned, and now by vs,
whyché bee unhappye, it is cleane lesse
and forgotten. Panutius, withoute
doubte I am weery to speake, and also
I haue suche an impediment in my Ro-
mache, that I wante brethe: or elles I
coude shewe the all by order, y^e myne
vnderstandyng failed me not, howe ma-
ny Parthiens, Mediens, Assiriens, Cal-
diens, Indiens, Egyptiens, Hebrewes,

I llll

Bre-

M. A. R. C. V. S.

Brekes, and Romayns, haue left their
 chyldren poore, and myght haue lette
 them ryche: and all was bycause they
 were vicious: and other chyldren that
 were very poore, were lette ryche, by
 cause they were good and vertuous. I
 sweare to the by the immortal goddes,
 that whan I came fro the warres be-
 twene the Parthiens and Rome, and
 that the triumphbe and glory was giuen
 to me, and my sonne confirmed to bee
 emperour: I wolde the Senate hadde
 lette me my sonne Commodus poore,
 with all his vices, and that I hadde
 made the Senate bettre and lord to the
 empire: and to haue chastised hym to
 the exauple of all the worlde. I will
 that thou knowe, I shall cary true thin-
 ges with me out of this worlde inter-
 medled, the whiche is great sorowe to
 my heart. The fyrste is, that I haue
 not determyned and indged the plee
 and procelle of the noble wydowe Dia-
 sia, with the Senate, seyng that she is
 very poore, and hath no bodye to do her
 Justice: The secounde is, bycause I do
 not dye in Rome, to the intente that I
 myghte cause to be cryed and proclap-
 med euery where in Rome, or I dyd, to
 wytte

AVRELIVS.

Witte if any complayned on me: The
 childe is, that where as I dyd flee:
 rill tyrantes that vndid the countrey,
 that I had not as well banished all
 the pirates that kept the seas: the
 fourth is, that I lefte my dere sonne
 Verissimus deed: and the .v. that I
 haue left alque, as heire to the empyre,
 my sonne Commodus. It is an actus the
 greatestt happe, that the goddis can
 geue to a man (not couetous but ver-
 tuous) is to geue hym reuoume in his
 lyfe, and a good heire to conserue hym
 after his death. Finally to conclude, I
 praye to the goddis, if I shall haue any
 parte with theim, that if by my somes
 offences, I come be sclaundered, and my
 reuoume minished, and my house longe
 by his life, that thei wil take a way his
 lyfe yet, or I dye.

What the emperour said to the mat-
 ters of his sonne, and to the rulers
 of the empyre. Capit. xliii.

Ye you auncient fathers and noble
 Romaynes, and ryght saythfull ser-
 uantes take payne and sorow, for
 that I muste yelde me to deache, and

A.v. leaue

MARCVS

leave this lyfe, and treat with my sepulchre. ye sorowe for my sorowe, ye are
 tourmented with myne angurthe, and
 peyned for my peine: it is no miruaille.
 For the clere vnderstanding of the pure
 blode ofte rue and faithfull frendes, is
 to double theyr traiailes, and to wepe
 for other: yf one brute beast moene for
 an other, muche more ough one humain
 creature to sorow for an other. And this
 I saie, bycause I knowe by the teares
 of your eyes, the felyng of your hertes.
 And sith that the greatted rewarde for
 any benefite, is to knowe it, and thanke
 the partie therof: as muche as I can, I
 thanke you. And yf my weake thankes
 be not corruspondente to your pittefull
 wepyng, I requyre the goddes, after
 they haue taken awaie my lyfe, to re-
 warde you for my duetie. It is great
 pleasure for the familie to knowe they
 mayster go with the goddis, and great
 pepne to hym to leaue them. For com-
 pany of many yeres is lothe to leaue
 the lyfe. In my lyfe tyme I haue done
 with you as I oughte to dooe, and as
 now I must do as I may. The goddis
 wil take my soule away. Comodus my
 sone the empyre, the sepulchre my body,
 and

AVRELIVS.

and ye my speycall frendes my hearte.
 And sochly it is reason, that sith ye wet
 in the lyfe my bertes, that it be yours
 after my deth, And in that I wil speake
 more particular this night shall be our
 reasonning. Nowe my herty frendes ye
 see, that I am come to the ende of my
 laste iourney, and to the begynnynge of
 my tyste iourney with the goddes. It
 is reason, that sythe I haue loued you
 in tyme paste, that ye beleue me nowe.
 For the time is com that ye can demaund
 nothyng of me : nor I haue nothyng
 to offre you : nor myne eares as nowe
 cannot here flatteries, nor my hert suf-
 fre importunities, if ye neuer knew me,
 knowe me nowe. I haue ben he that I
 am, and am he that hath ben, in tymes
 paste lyke vnto you, somewhat : nowe
 ye se I am but lytel and within a littel
 whyle I shall bee nothyng. This daie
 shall ende the lyfe of Marke your
 frende, this daie shall ende the lyfe of
 Marc your parente, this daie shall ende
 the satall destenies of Marc your lord,
 this daie shall ende the seignory of Marc
 your emperour, and this daie shall ende
 his empyre. I haue vanquished ma-
 ny, and now I am ouercome with deth.

I

MARCVS

I am he that hath caused many to dye,
and I can not as nowe geue my selfe one
daie of lyfe: I am he that hath entred
into chariottes of golde, and this daie
I shall be layed on a biere of woode:
I am he, for whome many haue songe
meryly, and this day they wepe: I am
he that hath had company in all exerci-
ses, and this daye I shall be giuen to
hungerpe wormes: I am Marcus great-
ly renoumed, that with famous triump
mounted into the high capitol, and this
daie with forgetfulnesse I shall descend
into the sepulchre. I see nigh with myn
eyes, that was farre byd in my herte.
And as the goddis be favorable to you
in this worlde, and equall and fauou-
rable to me in an nother worlde, as my
fleshe neuer toke pleasure to passe this
lyfe, but my herte was sodenly taken
with the feare of deathe, than take noo
pepue for me, for either I muste see the
ende of you, or you of me. I yeld great
thankes to the goddis, that they take
awaye this olde persone to rest with
them, and leaue you yong for to serue
in the mynistry: For there is no compar-
son for to speake of death to the life, nor
to eschue the death at the houre therof.

And

AVRELIVS.

And yet I will not deny, but I do feare
 death, as a mortall man. When the lyfe
 passeth, there is noo prudence in a pru-
 dent, nor vertue in a vertuous, nor lord-
 ship in a lord, that can take awaye the
 feare of the spelle, nor pyn of the flesh.
 At this tyme the soule and the fleshe
 are so combined and so conglutinate to-
 gether, and the spirite with the bloode
 are so annexed, that the separation of
 the one from the other is the most ter-
 rible, and the last terrible of all terri-
 bles. Certenly it accordeth vnto good
 reason, that the soule depart dolorous-
 ly, leauyng the fleshe vnto wormes,
 and the bodie as enuyous to se the soule
 goo and spoyle with the Boddis. What
 lyttell thoughte wee take in this
 lyfe, vntill we falle grouelinge with
 our eyes vpon death. Beleue me, Sithe
 I haue passed from whens ye bee, and
 haue experymented that ye doo see,
 that is, the vanities of vs that are
 dayne, is so agreeable to vs, that when
 we begynne to lyue, we imagine, that
 our lyfe will endure a holle worlde, and
 when it is ended, it seemeth vs to bee
 but a puffe of a blaste of wynde. And
 because than sensualytee pyneth for
 sensi-

MARCVS

sensibilitie, and the flesh for the flesh,
 reason guided with them that be mor-
 tall telleth me, that it pertaineth not with
 the departing. If I haue lyued as a
 brute beast it is reason that I dye a dis-
 crete man oughte to dooe. I during this
 daie shall dye all my spekenesse, hunger
 shall dye, colde shall dye, all my pynes
 shall dye, my thought shall dye, my dis-
 pleasure shall die, and euery thyng that
 gnuetbe pynne and sorowe. This daie
 the night shall be taken away, and the
 sone shynne bryght in the skye. This day
 the rust shall be taken from myne eyes,
 and I shall see the sone clerely: This
 daie the way shall be made smother for
 to go right: this is, the daie shall ende
 the iourney, wherein I shall not drie
 the flaes of Fortune. I thanke the god-
 des immortal, that haue suffred me to
 lyue so clerely, and so long a time. This
 daie I shall haue an ende of all un-
 happye deshenpes of enuyous fortune,
 and not they of me. Of trouthe yf the
 goddes haue commaunded my flesh
 to bee hydden in the sepulchre, and to
 be as mortalle: yet yf they be iust and
 dooe well, they wyll make my renoune
 to bee immortal, bycause I haue ly-
 ued

A V R E L I V S.

and well. Than sythe I chating this
 my lyfe and companys of menne, for
 the sweetnesse of the goddes, and the
 doubtes of fortune for this sure lyfe,
 and greasse and continuall leaue for
 perpetuall peace, and this yll and nau-
 ghty corrupte lyfe for goodde renoume
 and glorie, I thynke verily this shuld
 be none ylle chaunge.

It is nowe thre scoie and two yeres
 sythe the erth hath susteyned and fedde
 the earth of my bodye. It is nowe
 tyme that the earth knowledg me for
 her sonne, and I wyll also take her
 for my mother. Merely it is a pitifull
 mother, that wyll nowe take me into
 her entreilles for euer, sythe that I
 haue soo longe space stoden her vnder
 my fete. And yet though that I wer as
 Ham, for to be as she is, I am in certain
 that she wold kepe me surer among hit
 howmes, than I am among the senators.
 And all thoughe it bee perpetuall to
 you, yf it please the goddes to haue it
 thus, noo man can excuse nor scape it.
 I shulde beeryght well ealed, yf this
 web wer broken, and my possellid taken
 in the Sepulchre. Than shulde I haue
 the spall thynge proppre of myne owne,
 and

MARCVS

and perpetual without any feare of le-
 syng thereof. Althynge a mortall, that
 mortalle folkes haue, and the enuy of
 them that be enuyous make be broken,
 excepte the deathe and the sepulture, the
 which are privileged from entred hon-
 gre of enuy. I se you well, sheddyng te-
 res from your eyes, and reyse heuy si-
 ghes from the dependes of your hertes.
 I wyl proue that I wold desyre deathe,
 for the phisicians gyue me but three
 houres of lyfe; and there are contained
 in me, as in yeres of peines, the length
 wherof is a cronisme of deathe. And
 all though our debyltee be weak, yet
 for all that our honour is so sensible,
 that at the houre of deathe, the more
 that the bones discharge them of the
 flesch, the more is the hert charged with
 thoughtes. In manner that when the se-
 netes untie theim from the bones of
 the bodye, then newly they tye agayn
 a loose kynde to the hert. Nowe let vs
 be ouer speaking of that that toucheth
 particularly my selfe, and speake we in
 generall of it, that is conueniente to a
 young prince, and to you that are his
 tutors and masters.

These be my sonne Commodus and
 prince

AVRELIVS.

prince and helpe abyding for the herp-
 tage of the empire: neyther for beinge
 good, that he merite th praisse, nor for be-
 yng ill reyse. For he hath taken his
 naturalitie of the goddis, and his nur-
 ture amonge you. Diuers tymes when
 he was a child, ye toke hym in your ar-
 ms, to thentent that now he is a man,
 ye shuld set him in your bettes. With-
 er to he hath taken you for his masters,
 and nowe at this tyme, he muste repute
 you as his fathers: And whyles I ly-
 ned, ye helde him for yone prince in ho-
 rifying hym, for yout emperour in sec-
 uring hym, and as yout parente in hel-
 ping hym, and as your son in teaching
 hym. Witherto ye only held him charge
 as father, mother, and masters: He is
 nowe as a newe shyppe put this date in
 to the ryght sea, fletting to the bottom-
 lesse swolowe, where as the sayles of
 prosperitee will make hym fall, and the
 rockes of unhappynesse wyll drowne
 hym. Than amonge so many unpore-
 nate wyndes and unstable waters, ther
 is greate necessitee of good oyes. Sure-
 ly I am very sorre for the emper., and
 haue greate compassion of this younge
 prince, and suche as woulde his welth.

I

shall

MARCVS

shall more bewaile his lyfe than my
 death. For scappng fro the sea, I se my
 self at a good sure port, and vpon mayn
 lande, and leaue him the sweat and tra-
 uaple. For as yet he knoweth not how
 to aduerture to saile on the sea: nor yet
 knoweth not whether he shal abyde the
 age of my long experience, nor whether
 he shalbe a reasonable emperour or no.
 But what shall sorowfull Rome dooe,
 whan it hath nourished a good prince,
 and that fatal destenies, maketh an end
 of hym: or that by enuye of them that
 be yll he is slayne: or the crueltie of the
 goddis taketh hym awale: or that the
 bodye by his owne propre handes bee
 lifte vp in such a wise, that in the expe-
 riment of princis, all the life tyme par-
 teth in bewaityng of the youth of yong
 princis, and the grauitie of theyr aun-
 cient prynces passed. O yf these prin-
 ces belened at the begynnynge of their
 empire, other kyniges that are fayled
 in the worlde, howe they bee taughte
 whan it is sod importable for one man
 without charge to rule so many real-
 mes, and he doyng nothyng but take
 theyr gooddes, robbe hym of hys re-
 noume, banyshe theyr persons fro hym.
 and

AVRELIVS.

and he to ende his lyfe, and his sub-
 iectes augment their sorowes: and sith
 he is but one, he can doo no more than
 one, though dyuers hope that he dothe
 for all. Regarde in what mysaduen-
 ture a prynce lyueth, whan the leaste
 villayne in Italye thynketh, that all
 onely for hym, and on hym alone, the
 prynce setteth his eyes. And sythe the
 world is so changeable, and the people
 so vnculy, the day that a prynce is crow-
 ned and exalted with a scepter & palle,
 the same day he submitteeth his goodes
 to the covetous, and all his estate to
 the semblance of other. Thus than in
 this the goddis shewe their power. For
 all the vnderstandynges are tacked to
 one free will. The semyng of all they
 condemne, and allowe but one. They
 geue the domination to one, and the sub-
 iection to many. To one they geue the
 chastisement of all, and not all to the
 chastisement of one. For the rust of ma-
 ny, they geue meate but to one: the sa-
 uour wherof is swete to some, and soure
 to other: to some remaineth the bone,
 and to some the fleshe, as the leaste some
 be drowned and other be hyndred, and
 at the ende all haue an ende. I wold de-
 mand

U II

mand

MARCVS

maunde of you that be moſte familiar,
 what is the crowne of ſheppyre, or the
 ſceptre of golde, or the colour of perles
 or precious ſtones, or rubes of Alexan-
 der, or beſſell of Corinthe, or charlottes
 of triumph, or what offices of Conſules
 or Dictatours are deſired in charge of
 they; reſt; for it is certaine, thei can not
 attain to the one, without leſyng of the
 other. And this is the cauſe that there
 be pl matiners, & to hardy pilottes, for
 they flee fro the ſee to the lande, and fro
 the lande to the ſee. One thyng I wyll
 ſaie, that is againſt my ſelfe: every man
 hateth warre, and none man ſeeketh for
 peace. All ſorrowe for one that is an-
 gred, and none is contente to appeare,
 all woulde commaunde, but none wyll
 bee commaunded. This hath been in
 the worlde paſſed, and now at this pre-
 ſent tyme men be ſo lpght, that they ra-
 ther chuſe to commaunde with perill,
 than to obeye with reſt. Seyng that my
 daies are diminiſhed, and my ſpechelle
 augmented, ſuſpectyng than that I ſee
 nowe, when I retourned fro the water
 of Sicill, I determined to make my re-
 ſtamente, the whiche ye maie ſee here:
 Open and beholde it, and thetely ye
 ſhall

AVRELIVS,

shall se, how I leane you to be maisters
of my sonne, yet in loue and fidelitie ye
be togyther all as one. Great perill the
prince is in, and the common welthe in
an yll aduenture, where as be many in-
tructions among the gouernours. Let
scarcely the princis are glorious, and the
people welles fortunate, and the senate
happy, whan all agree in one counsell,
and that the counsayllers be auncient,
and many of theim, and all their inten-
tions agree vpon one thing. Whan this
was in Rome it was seated and bredde
of tyrantes, hauynge theyr consultaci-
ons approued with. iiii. C. batons. And
though their reasons were dyuers, yet
theyr willes and intentes were all one
for the comon welth. I desire and con-
sule you by the goddis, that ye be al fre-
des in conuersacion, and consourtable
in counsell. All the weake debilitates in
a prince maie be suffred, except yf coun-
sell: and all defautes of counsellours
ar tollerable, except enuy and pry. Wha
the frettyng wourme called a mothe en-
treth among theym, it causeth perill in
iustice, dishonour to the prince, sclander
in the commons, and parcialitie in the
superiours. The counsayllour that hath

¶ iii

¶ iij

MARCVS

his mynde overcome with pryde, and his
 hert occupied with enuy, and his man-
 nes outrageous to a good man, it is rea-
 son that he lose the fauour of the gods:
 his priuie with the prince, and the
 credence of the people, for he presumeth
 to offende the goddis with yll intenci-
 on, to serue the prince with yll counsel,
 and to offende the common welth with
 his ambition. O how ignorant are these
 princis, that take hede of suche herbes
 and venims that might poyson them in
 theyr meates, and care not for the poy-
 son that they of their priuie counsaile
 do geue them? Doubtesse there is no
 comparison, for the herbes and poysons
 can be giuen but on one daie: but the ve-
 nym of yll counsel is geuen every houre.
 Venym is defended by the horne of an
 vnicoorne, by triacle, and otherwise by
 bomites: but the poyson of yll counsell
 hath noo remedy, and lesse defensiu-
 es. And finally I saye, that the venym gi-
 uen by an ennemy can but slee one em-
 perour in Rome, but the poyson geuen
 by hym that is most priuie to euill coun-
 sell, sleeth the emperour, and destroyeth
 the common welth. And where as eu-
 ery vertuous prince letteth more by per-
 petuall

actual reuonome than this fallible life,
 ye being gouernours of themppre, and
 maysters to my sonne, they that owe
 hym all will haue not so muche power
 ouer his lyfe, as ye haue vpon his re-
 noume. Therefore if he bee awaked by
 his ennemies straungers; muche rather
 he ought to be awaked amonge his do-
 mesticall frendes: One thyng I com-
 mande as to my seruantes, and I de-
 syre you as my frendes, that ye shewe
 not your selfe so priuie openly, as ye bee
 in secreete, to the entent that some seeme
 not as naturall sonnes, and other as
 hyred seruantes. He that is vertuose,
 ought to haue great regarde to the pro-
 fite of his lord secretly, and to be meke
 of conuersacion with euery man open-
 ly, els his priuitie will not long induce,
 and the hate of the prince with the peo-
 ple will increace. Oftentimes I haue
 redde of our predecessours, and I haue
 seene it in the present Romayns, whan
 many holde with one, that one holdeth
 but lyttell with dyuerse, and lesse with
 many, the whyche keepeth theyr wyl-
 les as farre of, as the persons be nigh.
 And like the ynellesse of the tyme, and
 vnstablenesse of Fortune neuer leaueth

MARCVS

any thyng in one case, but all is as in
 maner of a dreame, the moſte ſure pur-
 chaſe is to flee fro perill, for than wold
 the princis haue paſſed their pleaſures
 intermedled in trauailes, they ſerch for
 man, and find not one. Therof cometh
 that one preſente, for feare wyl with-
 drawe hym, and an other out of fauour
 and abſente, will not come. I wyl
 ſhewe you one thyng, the whiche you
 ſhall alwaie put in my ſonnes memory:
 They that in our trauailes haue deter-
 mined of a long ſeaſon to apply them,
 we ought to wynn their good willes.
 The wylly labourer in one pere labou-
 reth to get cornes togyther, and in an
 other pere he ſoweth and gathereth. Be
 not to preſumptuous, for the preſumpti-
 on of an ancient prince, fordoeth the au-
 thoritie of the yonge prince: yet for all
 this diſpaire nor rebuke hym not to mu-
 che: for the lack of maners in the ſtate
 of a lorde ingendyeth vnchamefaſneſſe
 in hym, and boldnes to the ſeruaunt. I
 haue left in my teſtament the prince Co-
 modus for your ſonne, and you for his
 fathers. But I will and commaunde,
 that every man knowlage hym to bee
 their lorde, and to be at his commande-
 ment.

AVRELIVS.

ment. And ye my other seruauntes and
 subiectes to be in his obedience, and in
 all his high businesses to bee well gui-
 ded as his frendes and louers. Justice
 ought to be sene to, by wyse oratours,
 accordyng to the opinion of you that be
 his gouernours. And alwaile the de-
 termination to be dooen by the prince,
 whiche is lord of all. One counselle I
 wyll geue you (and if you fynd it ill,
 blame me afore the goddis) whereby the
 empyre of my sonne shall be stable and
 permanent in Rome, and your priuites
 sure in his house, if your counsellors be
 moued by reason, and his will ruled by
 your counsellors. I desyre sore that ye be
 not couetous: and therefore I haue ge-
 uen you dyuers gyftes and thankes in
 my lyfe, to take couetousnes from you
 afore my deathe. It were a monstrous
 thyng and very dreadfull, that suche as
 oughte to refrayne couetyse fro straun-
 gers, to haue theyr owne bandes open
 for theyr owne propre lucres. The ver-
 tuous priuy men ought not to do all the
 ill that they maie, nor to desyre all that
 they may attaine vnto, to the intent that
 the prince geue them so muche good-
 is for the profyte of theyr houses, as

A, v

peyne

M A R C V S

peyne and enuy of the people to theyr
 persones. And as in meane shippes
 men scape best in a mean sea, soner than
 in greate carrackes in the waues of the
 roypng and impiteous sees: in likewise
 such as be in meane estate among them
 that be but meanly enuyous, liue more
 surely, than such as ar set in high estate
 and priuite being rich, to be passioned a-
 mong enemies, that disdainfully wold
 putte theim vnder. It is a notable rule
 amonge wyse menne, and an infallible
 experience amonge them that be good,
 and I thinke that by hering therof, the
 yll shall knowlege it: The glorie of
 one amonge greatte men maketh strife,
 suspicion in theim that bee egall, and
 enuye amonge theim that bee meane.
 One thing, that they that gouerne wel,
 ought to haue, is lyberaltee. The lesse
 ye bee couetous, the more ye shall be li-
 berall. For with the rage of couetous-
 nesse, the ryght of iustice is mynished.
 It is longe tyme sythe I determined to
 gyue you the gouernynge of the empire,
 and the nourishynge of my sonne. And
 to haue prouyded to haue gyuen you
 largely of my gooddes, to put the con-
 tynge of other mens gooddes from you.

AVRELIVS.

I warrant you one thyng: yf cotectous
nes be amonge you, & be enuied of your
neighbour, you shall lyue in payne,
and your hertes shall bee payned wth
other mens busynesses, and your myn-
des shall be euer in suspecte. I than shal
ye folowe the Justice of other, where
as ye shall see your owne propre welth.
One counsell finally I wyll graue you,
whiche I haue taken alwaie my selfe,
Neuer commytte your honours to the
myshappes of fortune: nor neuer offre
your self to peryl wth hope of remedy.
For suspitious fortune keperth alwaies
her gates wyde open for peryl, and her
walles ben high, and her wickettes na-
rowe to fynde any remedy. And by-
cause I fele my selfe sore trauailed, I
pray you suffre me to rest a lyttel.

¶ Howe the emperour at the houre of
his death, sent for his sonne, and de-
clared to hym, who shulde gouerne
the Emppie. Capit. xliiii.

Thus a greatte parte of the nyght
passed and the daye beganne to
breake, and the lyfe of thys good
emperour beganne faste to drawe to an
ende:

M A R C V S

ende: yet for all that he left not the remembrance of such thynges as shoulde be ordered after his death. There were that tyme in the warre with him diuers right excellent men senators of Rome: and in all thynges he shewed hym selfe right wyse, and specially he wold neuer haue any vicious person in his house. He had euer in his company .i. gentlemen knyghtes, and in eche of them he might haue put trust to gouerne Rome. Oftentymes this good emperour wold say, that princes liued more surely with the gadyinge to them men of good lpyng and conuersacion, than with treasure of money stuffed in theyr chestes. Unhappy is the prynce, that esteemeth hym selfe happy to haue his coffers full of treasure, and his counsell full of men of yll lpyng. These malicious and yll men make princes poore: and a persike man suffyseth to make a holle realme ryche. Surely this emperour saied wel. For we dooe se daily, that what the father hath gotten in fifty yeres, the sone loseth in hase a yere. Than chusing among many a fewe, and of fewe to take the best, this emperour appoynted out vi. notable barons: Thye of them to be
mainers

A V R E L I V S.

matters of his son, and .iii. to be gouernours of the empyre. One was called
 Patrinac, which after was emperour,
 another was called Pompeiano, hus-
 band to his daughter, as late in coun-
 sell, as he was aged in yeres: The .iii.
 One Patrocle of the auncient stocke
 of the Pompeies, whiche was no lesse
 cleane in his lyuing than his yeres were
 white: The .iiii. was called Andisco,
 which in goodlines of his gesture, high-
 nes of bodye, vertue of courage, and
 wysedome in conscience, none was egal
 to hym in Rome: The .v. was named
 Bononius, whiche at that tyme was
 consule, and in the auncient lawes very
 expert: The last was called Iuan Ma-
 rius, the good, and he was called the
 good, because that in .lx. yeres neuer man
 sawe him do any yll workes, nor harde
 hym speake any ydell word: he, nor do a-
 ny thyng but it was profitable to the
 common welthe. Though in case they
 were all egall in gouernynge: yet I sawe
 these laste thre were principall. For Iu-
 an Marius particularly was left to bee
 chiefe capitaine of the armie, and to him
 was deliuered all the treasure, and the
 testamente was putte into his handes:
and

MARCVS

and with sore weepng the Emperour
recommended to hym the Prynce his
sonne. Than whan the payne of his shi-
nelle encreaced, and that he looked for
the howre of his deathe, he commaun-
ded to awake his sonne Commodus, whi-
che without any care was faste asleepe,
and whan he was brought into the pre-
sence of his father, it was greate pitie
to see the eyen of the olde Emperour
sore dyscoloured with weepng, and
the eyes of the sonne almooste closed
with sleappng: the sonne was wakng
with smalle thoughte, and the father
coude not slepe for great thoughte and
payne. And whan he was in his pre-
sence, seing the lytel care that the sonne
toke for the deathe of his father, and
considerng the greate desyre of the fa-
ther for the good lyfe of his sonne, it
moued to pitee the heartes of all the
greate lordes that were there, noo less
to leaue the company of the good olde
man, than the annoyauce of the dea-
lyng of the younge prynce. Than
the Emperour saied to his sonne these
wordes.

What

A V R E L I V S.

What the Emperour saied to his
sonne at the houre of his deathe.

Capitulo. xlv.

Vnto thy maisters and my gouer-
nours I haue shewed howe they
shall counselle the : and nowe
my sonne at this houre, I saye to the,
how they (thoughe they be but a fewe)
all for the alone shall gouerne : and it
is not to bee taken in small estimacion.
The mooste easiest thyng in the worlde
is to gyue counselle to an other : and
the mooste hardest and byest thyng is,
a man to take it for hym selfe. There
is none soo symple a man, but he maye
gyue good counsaylle, though there be
no nede, And there is none so wise, that
wyl refuse counsell in tyme of necessi-
tie. I see one thyng, that all take coun-
sayle for all, and at the laste take it for
hym selfe. Some I thynke, accordyng
to my heuy fatall destenies, and thynke
yll customes, that one thyng shall not
profyte the, that is, if the littell good-
nesse that thou hast done was for feare
of me in my lyfe, that thou wylte dooe
lesse, whan thou haste forgotten my
deathe. I do more nowe for to satisfie
my

MARCVS

my desire and the comon welthe, than
for the hope that I haue of the amend-
ment of thy lyfe. There is not a worse
complainte, than that a man holdeth
of hym selfe. If thou my sonne be yll,
I shal wyl complayne to the goddis,
that they haue gyuen the so yll inclina-
cions: They wyl complaine of fau-
ourine thy mother, that hath brought
the vp so wantonly: and they wyl com-
plaine on thy selfe, that thou dost not
refraine the from vices: and they shal
not complaine of thine olde father, that
hath gyuen the so many good counsels.
I am in certayne, thou hast not so great
dolour to see the ende of this night, and
the ende of my lyfe, as thou hast plea-
sure to see the date that thou shalt be
Emperour, and I haue noo merchaute,
for where as sensualities reigne, rea-
son is put asyde. Dyners thynges are
belieued, because they are not known
certaynely. O howe many thynges of
trouth ben there, that if they were kno-
wen reuely, they shoulde be lesse. But
we ben so doubtfull in euery thyng, and
go about our businesis so variably and
inconstantly, that sometyme our spiri-
tes bryake the purpose, and an other
tyme

AVRELIUS. M

For the thy spouse is not of trouble nor
 abundance. I say the best of thy state is
 all, that somtyme we lese by a carde of
 the moste, and to doo well we be so bad,
 that we lese a carde of the leaste: and at
 the laste we doo nothing but lese. Son
 why I aduertise the by wordes, that I
 have knowen in. I will peres by longe ex-
 perience: and sith thou arte my soune
 and younge, it is reason that thou be
 lene hym that is thy olde father. As we
 princis are regarde of all men, and re-
 garde all men, and are regarded of all
 ether, this date thou doest inherite the
 empite of the worlde and the countre of
 Rome. I knowe well there be prynces in
 the court of princis, that know nothing
 what is to make them selte of wis-
 nesse, and to maynteyn them self among
 so many trumpertes as are treaid in the
 houses of princis. I let the to wit, that
 in the court is aunciente parcialtees,
 presente dissencions, fearefull under-
 standynges, eydente wytnesses, en-
 trayles of serpentes, tongues of sco-
 pions, many detractours, and few that
 seeke peace: and whete as all menne
 woulde harken to the common voyce,
 every man seecheth his owne profit.

Æ

Lucy

MARCVS

Every man sheweth a good pretence, &
 al are occupied in yll woorkes: In such
 wyse that some by auarice leese theyr
 good fame, and some prodygally spend
 and waste all theyr gooddes. What
 should I saie more? In the court euery
 daye the lordes chaunge and alter
 the lawes, awake stryfes, and reyse
 noises, abate noblenesse, exalte the vn-
 woorthy, banyshe innocentes, and ho-
 nour theues, loue flatterers, and dis-
 praisse them the whiche bee vertuous,
 they embrace delites, and treade vertue
 vnder their feete: they wepe for theym
 that be yll, and laughe to scorne them
 that be good, and finally they take all
 lightnesse for their mother, and vertue
 for theyr stepmother. And my sonne I
 saie more vnto the, The court, the whi-
 che thou shalt enherite this daie, is no-
 thyng but a shoppe with waares, and a
 house of vacabundes, toherin some sell
 vile and corrupt thynges, and other bye
 lyes, some haue credence, and som haue
 renoume, some haue gooddes, and some
 haue lypynge, and all togyther is but
 losse of tyme: and that worst of all is,
 they will not beleue the payson thereof,
 yll it bee at theyr heartes, they are too
 fooles

AVRELIVS.

foolyshe and sturbye. Rome hath the bea-
 tie by malles, and the vertues is be-
 raie lowe: Rome haunterh it selfe to
 be very stronge in numbze of inhabitant-
 tes, and afterwards Rome shall weepe
 that there is more people than vertue,
 and vices are not accompted. In a mo-
 nethe a man might rechen all the stones
 of the proude edifices, but in a. M. ye-
 res he myght not compyse the malices
 of his yll customes. I sweare to the
 by the immortall goddes, that in thre
 peeres I repaired all that was decayed
 in Rome, and in thyrty peeres I coulde
 not reforme one quarter therof to good
 lyping. Good son beleue me, the great
 cities full of good inhabytantes ought
 to bee praysed, and not the great edifi-
 ces. Pure predecessours haue trium-
 phed on strangers as weake and feble:
 and nowe they maie triumphe on vs al-
 so, as men that bee more vanquyshe
 with vices than any of the other. By
 the mightynes & promesses of our pre-
 decessours, we that be now, are greatly
 honoured and exalted: and by the smal
 estimation of vs, that bee nowe, they
 that come after vs, shall bee greatly a-
 shamed. Of a very trouth it is a great

Æ. ii.

Shame

MARCVS

shame to sale, and lesse infamy to doe,
 that the goodnesse and tranquille of the
 auncientes should nowe be touned and
 conuerted to folies and presumption.
 My sonne looke well on thy selfe, that
 the reyne of thy paunche, and libertee of
 the empyre, cause the not to commytte
 vice. He is not called onely free, that is
 free borne, but he that dieth within the
 same. O how well are the slaves borne,
 that after theyr death are free by theyr
 goodnesse, and howe many haue byed
 slaves by their noughtynesse, that were
 borne free. There is freedom where no
 blenesse abydeth. The prowess of thy
 persone shall geue the more hardynesse
 and libertee, than the auctoritee of the
 empyre. It is a generall rule, that every
 vertuous man of necessitie is to be hol-
 den hardy: and every vicious man of ne-
 cessitie is to be reputed a coward. Now
 boldly they be chastised that bee noyed
 with any vice, and coldely they be cha-
 stised, that deserue chastisement. Lette
 the prince be in certayn, that the loue of
 his people, and the libertie of his office,
 hath not wherewith to vpholde hym in
 arms spred abrode on the erth, without
 the diuers vertues assembled in his pson.

¶

¶

¶

AVRELIUS.

Certainly Octavius Cesar subdued
monacions by the renoume of his ver-
mes, than didde Salus his uncle with
his army of many men. All the worlde
loved of a vertuous prince, and it se-
meth, that all the world riseth against
a vicious prince. Vertue is a strange
cassell, and can neuer bee wonne; it is
a ruere where nedeth no rowing, a sea
that moueth not, a fier that quencheth
not, a treasure that neuer hath ende, an
army neuer ouercom a burdein that ne-
uer weppeth, a spyre that euer recour-
neth, a signe that neuer deceyueth, a
plaine way that neuer faileth, a spore
that healeth soorthwith; & a renoume
that neuer perissheth, O my son if thou
kneweste what thyng it is to be good,
& what a man thou shuldest bee if thou
were vertuous, thou shuldest do seruice
to the gods, good renoume to thy selfe,
pleasure to thy frendes, and engender
loue of strangers, and finally all the
worlde shulde feare and loue the.

I remembre that in the booke of re-
ces of the battaile of Tarentine, I found
that the renomed Pyrrhus kyng of the
Epyrothiens, bare in a ryng grauen
these woordes: To a vertuous man is

¶ iii

but

MARCVS

but a smalle rewarde, to be orde of all
the earth: and it is but a small cha-
riment to take a vicious mān lyfe fro him.
Truely it was a worthy sentence of
suche a prince. what thyng is it, be lie-
uer so discreet, begun by a vertuous mā,
but there is hope to haue a good end
therof: Soberly I haue sene in dyuers
parties of myne empire, dyuers men by
wythe of good fame, beynge low in po-
des, and vnknewen of their kynne and
bloud: vnder take so greaue thyng,
that to my semyng, it was a fearefull
audacitie to begyn. And yet by the win-
ges of vertue all onely they haue had
good renoume at the laste. By the in-
uocacion of goddis, and as the good Iu-
piter bynge me in his mancion, and be-
blyssed the, in all that is myne. There
were ones, a gardiner & a potter, dwel-
lyng in Rome, which only by their ver-
tues, caused to put teine vicious Sen-
tours out of the Senate, and the fine
occasion was, for makynge a hedge of
thorne, and a potte, for the workema-
ship and labour wherof, the Senators
wolde not pay theym. I telle it the my
sotte, bycause that vyle maketh a bold
persone thoughtfull, and vertue can

AVRELIVE.

thy hym, that is in thought, to take
strength and boldnes. It was wel ware
of two thynges in my lyfe, nor to plead
agaynst the cletenes of iustice, nor to
take parte agaynst a vertuous persone:
for with vertue god sustenteth vs, and
with iustice the people are well gover-
ned and ruled.

Of other more particuler coun-
sailes, grauen by the emperour, hit
root to his sonne.

Cap. xlii.

Now to come to thynges more par-
ticuler. Seyng sonne, that thou
art yonge, and that nature can
not deny the. And as in al difficille thin-
ges, thy counsell is necessarie, no lesse
to comforte the state of oure lyuyng,
we desire some recreacions. For thy
pater, I leaue the with greaſte lordes
thyldren, with whom thou maist passe
the tyme: And to teache the I leaue
olde romaynes, that haue noutiſhed
the, and serued me, of whom thou shalt
take counsell. The inuencion of in-
cludes, of theatres, to fyſhe in pon-
des, to hunte wild beaſtes, to courſe in

the fieldes, to haue for byrdes, and to
 exercise debes of armes, are the thinges
 that thy yowthe desyreth. And yowthe
 with yowthe ought to keepe company, in
 doyng the same. But behold my sonne,
 that in orderynge of armie, to apply
 the warres, to pursue victories, to ac-
 cepte truce, to confirme peace, to repse
 tributes, to make lawes, to promote
 some, and dismisse other, to chastise the
 yll, and recompence the good: In all
 these thynges, that be soo chargeable,
 they that be of cleve mynd, redy broken
 and trauailed of their bodies, & whyle
 heared, ought to be taken to counsaile
 the. And syth thou arte yonge and lusty
 of body, reioyce and sport with them
 that be yonge: and whan thou art em-
 perour, than touchyng thy secret affai-
 res, take counsell of them that be olde.
 Beware my sonne of all extremities:
 For as yll may the prynce be, vnder the
 colour of grauitie, to bee ruled by the
 auncient persones, as vnder the colour
 of pastyme, to keepe companie with
 yonge folkes. It is no generall rule,
 that all yonge persons shall alwayes
 bee yonge and lyghte, nor that all
 olde persons shulde be alwayes wyse.

I am

AVRELIVS.

I am sure of one thing, that if the young
man be borne with folly, the olde man
lyueth and dieth with couetyse. There-
fore my sonne beware, be not extreme in
extremities. For the young people wyl
corrupte the with their lyghtnes, and
olde folkes will deprave the mind with
theyr couetousnes. what thing can bee
more monstrous, than a prynce that
commandeth every man, to bee com-
manded of one? Sothely the gover-
ning of dyuers, can not bee governed
well by the opinion of one alone. Than
the prynce, that governeth many ought
to haue the intencion and opinion of di-
uers.
In the annales of the Pompeyens,
I found a lyttel booke of remembrance,
the whiche greatte Pompey bare al-
waie with hym: wherein were dyuers
good counselles and aduertisementes,
the whiche were gyuen in dyuers par-
ties of the worlde: Among the whiche,
I founde these woordes: He that go-
verneth the common welthe, and put-
teth the gouernaunce to them that bee
olde, sheweth hym selfe vnable: and he
that trusteth in youthe, is lyghte: and
he that governeth by hym selfe alone,

E.b.

is

MARCVS

is hartly and bolde: and he that goer-
neth by hym selfe and other, is wylle.
These were notable wordes.

THan my sonne, determine the
take counsel, and specially in high thin-
ges and matters of difficultie, and o-
therwise let them not bee determined.
For when the counsell is taken of bl-
uers, than yf any faute be, it shal be di-
uided among them all. Though the de-
termination myght be done by a few,
yet take counsell of many. Among all
thy welthes, here the common counsell.
For one wyll shewe the all the incon-
uenience, an other the peryll, an other the
domage, an other the profite, an other
the remedye. And sette as well thine
eyes vpon the inconueniences, that shal
late, as vpon the remedye, that they shal
see. When thou begynnest any hard
matter, esteeme as wel the small dom-
ges that maie befall afore, and stoppe
them, as to remedye the great misfor-
unes, that come after. Of trouthe y strong
and myghtye shyppe ofte tymes for a
small takynge hede of the pylotte, is
sounken and drowned in a lytel water:
and an other shyppe, not so strong, with
wise diligence, is saued in the gulfe of

AVRELIVS.

the sea. Be not annoyed to take counsell
in small matters every houre. For ma-
ny thynges forthwith requyre to be lo-
hed to, and in abydyng for counsell; it
endomageth. And that that thou canste
dispatche by thyne owne auctoritee,
without domage of the common welth,
put it not to any other person. For sith
thy service all only dependeth of thine,
the rewarde dependeth of the alone.

In the yere. vi. C. xxx. of the founda-
cion of Rome, after the cruell warres
done agaynst the kynge of Numedie,
the day that Agarius triumphed, with-
out putting of any of the riches, that
he brought, into the common treasorie,
he deuided it to his men of warre. And
whan he was therfore accused, and as-
ked, why he toke not fyrste the opinion
of the senate: He aunswered and saied:
Bythe they toke not the opinion of o-
ther, to do me seruyce, it were not rea-
son that I shulde take counsel of other,
to rewarde and recompence them.

Sonne, yet I wyl aduertise the of
other thynges. Peraduenture some wyl
gyue the counsell, er thou demaunde it:
In þ case kepe this general rule: neuer
abide the second counsell of a man, if he
haue

MARCVS

haue gyuen the counselle before, in the
preiudice of an other. For he offereth his
woordes in thy seruyce, to bypasse the
besines to his owne profite. O my lorde,
there ar many thynges to knowe a man.
xv. yere I haue ben a senatour, consule,
censure, capytaine, and tribune: and
xviii. yeres I haue bene emperour of
rome, and dyuers haue spoken to me,
in preiudice of other, and many mo. for
they: owne profyte, and none haue spo-
ken clerely to me, for the profyte of o-
ther, nor for my seruyce. Greate com-
passion oughte to be taken of prynces:
for euery man foloweth them for theyr
owne profite, and none for lous and ser-
uyce. One counsell I toke for my selfe,
all the whyle that I haue governed
rome: I neuer kepte man in my house,
after that I knew hym hateful against
the common welthe.

In the yere of the fundacyon of rome
vi. c. lxx. of the Olympiade. c. lxxiii.
Lucullus Patricien, greate frende to
Sylla, going to the warre of Metrida-
tes, It chaunced that in Tygoano, a ci-
tye of Caldies, he founde a plate of cos-
per or brasse vpon the kynges gates,
wherin were certaine letters, whiche
they

AVRELIVS.

thei said were grauen there by the com-
maundement of Alexander the greate.
The letters were in Caldee, conteining
these sentences, That prince is not wise
that wyl holde his lyfe in peryll, and
wyl not assure his lyfe and state with
the loue of all men: That pryncce is not
vertuous, that is giuyng muche to one
persone, wylleth all other haue but ly-
tell: That pryncce is not iuste that wyl
satisfy more the couetise of one person,
than the voices of all men: That pryncce
is a sole, that dispiseth the counsell of
all other, and trusteth all onely vpon
the opinion of one. And fynally that
pryncce is to bolde and hardye, that for
the loue of one, wyl bee hated of all o-
ther.

These were wordes of eternall me-
morie. And in dede these princes shuld
haue this alwaies in theyr presence.
Sonne yet I shall saye more to this.
This Lucullus Patriciens brought in
to the senate, all the treasure that he
had, and this plate, with the said wor-
des thereon, to the intent that thei shuld
chuse the one, and leaue the other. And
the senate refused all the treasure, and
toke the counselles wrytten thereon.

Of

M A R C V S

Of diuers and particular recommen-
dations, which the emperour
commaunded his sonne.
Capitulo. xlvii.

I have shewed, lyke a father, the
thyngs, that toucheth thy welthe:
Nowe I wyl shewe the what thou
oughtest to dooe after my deathe, for
my seruice. Those thynges, that I haue
loued in my lyfe, yf thou wylt be sonne
to thy father, esteeme them after my
deth. First my son I recommend to the,
the worshyppe of the temples, and
the reuerence of the priestes, with the
honour of the goddis. So long shall the
honour of the Romaines laste as they
perseuere in the seruice of the goddis.
The realme of the Carthaginens peris-
hed not, bycause they were not so riche,
or more cowardes than the Romaines:
but bycause they loued theyr treasures
to muche, and were but yll worshyp-
pers and louers of the temples. My
sonne I recomende to the Helia, thy
steppe mother, and remembre, that
thoughe she bee not thyne owne mo-
ther, yet she is my wyfe: and on the
payne of my cursyng, suffre not that she
be

AVRELIVS.

be yll intreated. For the damage that
 she shoulde suffre by thy consent shulde
 geue euidence of the smalle thoughte,
 that thou takest of my deathe, whiche
 should bee an iniury to thy lyfe. I haue
 lefte to her the tributes and reuenues
 of Hostie, for to maynteyn her degree:
 and the gardeynes of Vulcan, whiche
 I caused to make for her recreation.
 And yf thou take it fro her, thou shewest
 thyne ylnesse. And to suffre her to
 enioye it, I commaunde the by thyne o-
 bedience, and to shewe her thy bountie
 and largesse. Remembre she is a Ro-
 mayn, yong and a widowe of the house
 of my lord Traian, and howe she is thy
 mother adoptiue, and my natural wifer:
 wherfore I leaue hir vnder thy recom-
 mendacion. Also I committe to the thy
 bretherne in lawe: and thy sisters, my
 daughters, I leaue theym all maried,
 not to straunge kynges, but to the na-
 turall inhabytauntes and citicens of
 Rome. They dwelle all within the wal-
 les of Rome, where as they maie dooe
 the seruice, and thou mayste dooe them
 good: Sonne, intreate theym in suche
 wyse, that thoughte theyr good Fa-
 ther bee deade, yf lette theym haue
 fauour.

M A R C V S / A

faueur. And though they se they be
 ther emperour of Rome, yet let them
 not be defoiled. Women be of a ryght
 tendre condacion, they wyll complaine
 for a smalle cause, and for lesse they wil
 reyle by in pride, thou oughreste to con-
 serue them after my death, as I haue
 done in my lyfe. For otherwyse they
 conuersation shulde be sekyl to the peo-
 ple, and importunate to the. Also I com-
 myt to the Lypula thy syster, that is a-
 mong the virgins Vestales. Thinke
 that shee is doughter of thy mother
 Faustyne, which I haue greatly lored
 in my lyfe, and vnto the houre of my
 deathe. I haue lamented hees, Euery
 yere I gaue to thy syster. ii. M. sex-
 ters, for her necessities: she had ben as
 well marred as the other, yf she hadde
 not be brent in the bysage: which was
 esteemed of euery man an ill aduenture,
 and spectally of her moder, that wepte
 alwaile for her. But I esteeme that yll
 aduenture, a good fortune. For yf she
 had not ben brent in the face wryth fire,
 she had in the worlde, as touchyng her
 renoume, be brent with dyuers tongues.
 Sonne, I sweare to the, that for the ser-
 uice of the goddes; and the saunt of me,
 she

AVRELIVS.

she is more surer with the virgins in
 the temple, than though she were in the
 senate, with the senators. I deme that
 at the end of the iourney, she shall find
 hir self better at ease, closed and locked
 in, than thou with al thy libertie. In
 the prouince of Lucany, I haue left for
 hir, the.ii. M. sexters: I wyll not that
 thou take them fro hir. Also I commit
 Drusia the wydowe to the, which hath
 layd a great proces agaynst the senate,
 bicause that by moris afoze passed, hir
 husband was banished: I haue great
 compassiō of hir: for it is thre monthes,
 sith she put in hir demaund, and bicause
 of my great warres, I coud not declare
 hir iustyce. Sonne, thou shalt fynde it
 trewe, that in. xxxv. yere, that I haue
 gouerned Rome, there was neuer wy-
 dowe, that helde hir processe before me,
 passyng. viii. daies. Take compassi-
 on of suche. For womens necessitties
 are ryghte peryllous, and at the laste,
 yf theyr busynesse bee longe in hande,
 they recouer not so muche of theyr goo-
 des, as they lese in their renowme. Also
 haue compassion of poore men, and the
 goddis shal reward the, with great ry-
 ches. Also I commit to the, my ancient

2

ser.

MARCVS

Seruauntes, to whome my longe yeres
and cruell warres, my often necessities
the displeasure of my body, and my long
sickenesses, hath been right pynfull.
For they, as true seruauntes, to gyue me
lyfe, haue taken pyn vnto the death. It
is reason, that sith I haue taken theyr
death, that they inherite parte of my
lyfe. One thyng I holde for certayne,
In case that my bodye abyde in the se-
pulchre with wourmes, yet I shall al-
ways, before the Goddis haue remem-
braunce of theim. In this doyng, thou
shalte doo as a good chylde, to satisfie
theym, that haue serued thy father.
Take hede my sonne, every prince, do-
yng iustice, acquireth enemies in the ex-
ecucion thereof. And this is doone by
theim, that are moste nere to hym. For
the more priuie they are with the prince
the more hatefull they are to the peo-
ple. And though every man loueth ius-
tice in generall, yet they all hate exe-
cucion thereof in particular. Whan a
iuste pryncce is deade, the people take
vengeaunce of the vniuste seruauntes.
Whan thou were a chylde, my seruan-
tes nourysshed the, to the entente, that
thou shuldest susteyn theim in their age.
Surely

AVRELIVS.

Surely it were a greatte shame to the empire, an offence to the goddis, an iniurie to me, and an vngentynesse of the, that thou haste founde them. xviij. peres, with theyr armes abroad to halfe the, that they should fynde one day thy gates shette agaynst them. These thynges I commit to the particularly, kepe them alwaie in memory. And sythe I remembre them at my deathe, consider howe I loued them in my lyfe.

Of the last wordes that the Emperoure spake to his son, and of a table that he gaue hym. Cap. xlviii.



When the Emperoure hadde ended his sayed recommendacions, the daye began to sprynge, and his eye strynghes beganne to breake, and his tongue faultered, and his handes shooke. When the sayed happye Emperoure, feelinge that weakenesse beganne soore for to drawe aboue his harte, he commaunded Panutius to go into his study, and to brynge hym a coffre that was there.

Y ii

And

MARCVS

And whan it was brought to his presence he opened it, and toke out a table of three foote brode, and two fote long, it was of woode Libanus, and rounde about garnished with pnicorne. It was closed with. ii. leaues, subtilly wrought of a cedde wood, that some sayde was of the tree that the Phenix breedeth in, and is called Kasin. And as ther is but one byrde Phenix brydng in Ahabie: so lykewyse there is no more trees in the worlde of the same kynde. On one of the outwarde parties of the table, was pictured and graue the god Jupiter: on the othet the goddesse Venus: In the inward parties of the Table that set, was pictured god Mars, and the goddesse Ceres: In the pyncipall of the sayd table was pictured a bull subtilly wrought to the quicke, and vnder that a kyng was pictured. The whiche painteres were sayed to bee of the handye warke of the expert Appelles and auncient workeman in payntyng. Than the Emperour toke the table in his hande, and with greate peyne he sayde: Thou seekest my sonne Commodus, howe I am all ready scaped frome the trappes of Fortune, and am entrepyng in to the be-

nye

AVRELIVS.

the adventures of death. I wote not why
 the goddis haue created vs, sithe there
 is so great annoyance in our life, and so
 great perill at our death. I vnderstand
 not why the Goddis haue and vse so
 greatte crueltie to the creatures. Aris.
 pere I haue sayled with great trauayle
 through the great perilles of this lyfe;
 and at this houre I am commanded to
 take lande & discharge me of my flethe,
 and to take ethe in the sepulchre. Now
 vntyerth I lyuely thyedes, now vndoeth
 the spryngell, nowe ryueth the webbe,
 nowe enderth my life. Nowe am I awa-
 ked from the sleping euyl, remembryng
 howe I haue passed my lyfe, I haue no
 more desyre to liue. And in that I know
 not whiche wale to go, I refuse death.
 What shall I do? I am determined to
 put me into the handes of the goddis
 wilfully, sithe I muste do so of neces-
 sitie, whom I requyre, if they haue cre-
 ated me for any goodnesse, not to de-
 pyne me fro theyn for my demerites.
 I am nowe in the last gate: and to this
 howre I haue kepte the greatest and
 mooste excellent iewell that I coulde
 fynde in all my lyfe. In the tenth pere
 of myne Empyre, there arose a warre
 P.iii. agaynst

MARCVS

agaynst the Parthes: wherefore I determined in myne owne person to geue them battayle. After that war I came by the auncient citie of Thebes, for to see some antiquitie. Amonge the wyche in a priestes howse I fonde this table, the whiche as a kynge was reysed in Aegypte, incontynente it was euer hanged at his beddes heade, and this priest shewed me, that it was made by a kynge in Aegypte named Ptholome Arlacides, that was a vertuous prince. And in the memory of hym, and example of other, the priestes kepte it diligently. And sonne I haue kepte it alway with me: and I beseeche the goddis, that such may bee thy workes, as therein thou maiest fynde good counsell. As Emperour I leaue the beyre of many countreies and realmes: and as thy father I do geue vnto the this table of counsayles. Let this bee the last worde, that with the Empire thou shalt bee feared, and by this table thou shalt bee beloued.

This saied, and the table deliuered to his sonne, the Emperour turned his euen, and within a quarter of an houre he pelded the spirite.

Rowe

AVRELIVS.

Come to retourne to the saied table
and writynge. There was writteu be-
twene the bull and the kyng a scrow in
greke letters, in maner of heroical ver-
ses, conteynynge in our vulgar tongue
thus. I neuer chose riche tyraunt, nor
abhorred the poore iuste man, I neuer
denied iustice to a poore man for his po-
uertie, nor pardoned a ryche man for
his great goodes and richesse: I neuer
dyd good deedes, nor neuer gaue hye
for affection, nor gaue correction onely
for the peyne: I neuer lefte ylnesse vn-
chastised, nor goodnes without reward
I neuer committed an other to do iustice
that was clere, nor dark iustice I neuer
determined by my selfe alone, I did ne-
uer deny iustice to them that demanded
it, nor mercy vnto him that deserued it:
I neuer dyd correction for angre, nor
promysed any rewarde in my myrthe:
I was neuer charged with thoughtes
in my prosperitie, nor dispaired in myne
aduersitie: I neuer commytted yll by
malyce, nor any villanye for auarice:
I neuer opened my gates to flatterers
nor dyssemblers, nor lystened myne ear-
es to murmures: I haue laboured al-
waies to be loued of them that be good,

Y thus

and

M A R C V S

and to be dred and feared of them that
be yll : And finally I haue fauoured
the poore, that myghte dooe but lytel,
and haue bee fauoured of the goddes
that maie do muche.

Untyther to is shewed bryefely the wor-
thy and laudable lyfe of the Emperour
Marcus Aurelius, and of his death.
And hereafter ensueth the second
parte of his booke.

A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius to
Pyramon his special frend. Ca. xliij.

The fyrste letter.



Athe orator I remain
borne at mount Celis
to Pyramon of Ly-
on, my great frende,
desirynge salutation
to thy personne, and
strength and vertue a-
gainst thy sinister for-
tune. In the thyrde Kalendes of Janu-
arie I receiued thy letter, whereby I
perceiue thou hast receiued one of mine
I sette smal store by thy wordes, but I
esteem

AVRELIVS.

esteem greatly what thou meanest by
them. So that without declaring thee
of, I haue gathered the sentence. Rea-
son woulde, bycause I haue written so
often to the, that thou shouldest the bet-
ter vnderstande me : but thou arte so
stoutfull, that though I cal the, thou
wilt not here: nor though I stryke the,
thou wilt not feele. But nowe to come
to the purpose. Thou knowest well I is-
ramon, howe nere we bee in parentage,
auncient in frendshyp, stedfast in loue,
and tender of hartes, and whan so euer
thou put it in experience, than one true
frende shall proue an nother. Thou re-
membrest well, whan we werz at Ros-
des, that wee dwelled togyther in one
house, and dyd eate at one table, and al
that thou thoughtest I dyd it in effecte:
and that I sayed, thou neuer gaynsay-
dest. Certapnly thou were in my herte,
and I in thyne entrailes. I was thyne,
and thou were myne. We beyng togy-
ther, it semed to all other that we were
but one, and of one will. What is it my
frende I isramon? Thou writest howe
thou arte heuy, and yet thou doest not
shewe the cause why: thou complainest
that thou arte almoste deade, and thou

Y v

shewest

M A R C V S

shewest me not who taketh thy lyfe fra
 the. If thou wilt not shewe to me thine
 yll destenies, sith thou art my frende, I
 will thou know, that I demaunde it of
 ryght, yf thou wylte not, I will that
 thou knowe, that the pittiefull goddes
 haue determined, that al pleasures and
 profite shall departe frome my house:
 and that all heuines and domages shal
 bee regystrid in my persone. Sythe I
 am prince of all honour, in tribulacion,
 yf thou woldest, thou canste not escape
 out of my seignourie. For yf thou com-
 playne, that thou arte vnhappye in for-
 tune, than I esteeme my selfe to be hap-
 pye in vnhappynesse. I demaunde one
 thyng of the: whan haste thou sene
 me haue sufferyent, and thou nede?
 whan hast thou sene me slepe, and thou
 wake? and whan haste thou trauailed,
 and I rested? Of trouthe syth the god-
 des and persones are they? owne pro-
 pte, the trauailes and yll aduentures
 are alwaies common. One thyng thou
 oughtest to knowe, yf in myne amittis
 thou wilt perseuere, that al my goodes
 are thine, and all thine euilles at mine,
 sith thou art borne to lyue easly, and
 to bee gentelly ordered and intreated,
 and

AVRELIVS.

and I dooe lye for to trauaile. I sale
not this faynyngly: for thou hast hade
experence of me, that whan Hamaria
thy syster dyed, that was no lesse vertu-
ouse than fayre, thou sawest well whan
he was buryed deed, I was buryed
quicke and at the sowne of my teares
thine eies daunced. Sythe thou holdest
such sureties of my persone, surely thou
maist dyscouer to me thy payne. yet as
often as I haue demaunded it, there
hath not fained reasons fayled in the.
I requyre the, and desyre the agayne,
and in the name of the goddes I praye
the, and in theyr names I coniure the, &
thou dispose all thy sorowes into myne
entrailes. For the wate that thou goest,
I wyll not leaue one pace to goo fro
the same: yf thou go, I will go: yf thou
reste, I will reste yf thou worke, I
will worke: yf thou leaue of, I will do
the same: yf thou wylt die, thou know-
est well I wyll not lye. Regard frend
what thou wilt do. For thine euils and
mine, torment bothe one hert. If thou
haue displeasure, all thynges displese
me: if thou wepe, I sweere fro hensforth
neuer to laugh: if thou discharge the of
thy payne: fro hensforth I shall take it
for

M A R C V S .

for myne: if thou go alone, I will forsake company, and forthwith live solitarily. What wylt thou that I shulde desire: For all that ever thou wilt I will. Thou complaineest that in all thy travayles thou canst fynde no parent to remedy the, nor frende to counsell the, I sweere to the my frende Pyramon, that of these two thyngs I haue as much povertie in my house, as thou haste sorow in thyne. I know wel the remedy shuld come by riches, and by counceyl, and consolation of them that be wyse. And by reason of my heauy destenies, flouth hath taken from me the knowlage of wisdom: and fortune will not permit me to haue great riches. Certainly I wepe for thy misery, & yet there is but small remedy in me. Thou saiest in thy letter, that thy neighbours and frendes in promysing haue behyght the many thynges: but in gyuyng they doo nothyng. Hereof I meruayle: for the vertuons hande is not bounde to make the young a foole. Truly though our sette daunce, our handes shulde werke at the towne of the tongue: our lyfe endeth in fewe daies, and our renowme in fewer. Whymys is an ancient custome amouge the sonnes

AVRELIVS.

sonnes of vanitie, and of custome the
tonge speaketh hastily, and the handes
worke at leysure. Now lette vs speake
more particularly.

Thou oughtest not to complayne, in
that thou fyndest not but in a few, that
byuers haue founde in the alone. Cu-
stome is to receiue forthwith and mercy-
ly, and to geue slowly with yll wylle
and repentance. They that be presump-
tuous doo the oone, and they whiche be
shourthfull, do the other. The Greekes
saie, that he that promiseth and is long
in fulfylling, is but a slacke frend, We
Romayns saie, that he is muche better
that denieth forthwith, bycause he will
not begyle him that asketh. In this case
I saie, He that maie gyue and gyueth
not, is a clere ennemie: and he that pro-
myseth forthwith, and is longe or he do
it, is but a suspicious frend. What nede
wordes to our frendes, whan we maie
surcoat them with workes? Is it not
right, to whome we gyue our heartes,
which is the best thyng within vs, that
we gyue hym our tongue, that is the
worste thing of our vices? In good soth
the goddis wylle not suffre in the place
of amitie, to desire any thyng of oure
frend

MARCVS

friend in haste, and to bee driven of with
 longe delaipng. Plato in his lawes
 saith, we command, that in our gover-
 nyng, that polytyke counsaile be given
 to them, that bee in prosperitee, to the
 intent that they decay not: and to suc-
 cour them that be in heuines and trou-
 ble, to the intent that they dispaire not.
 Certainly vnder these wordes are com-
 pyled diuers great sentences. Thou
 knowest well my friend Dircamon, that
 swete wordes comfort the heart but litle
 that is in tribulaciō, but if therbe some
 good workes therwith. I will nat de-
 nie, but that thei, to whom we haue gr-
 uen our good wylls in the tyme of our
 prosperitee, bee bounde to grue vs of
 their goodes, and to shewe vs fauour
 in our aduersitee. I demaund one thing
 of the, wherfore holdest thou a presum-
 ptuous licence to demaunde? And re-
 prouest on the other part the libertie of
 denyng. Truly as there is shame in the
 demanding, there is obligacion in some
 thyng to denye: an importunate man is
 not worthy to haue mercy. Thou maist
 knowe, if thou knowe it not my frende
 Dircamon, that to attain to euery thyng
 that is demanded, belongeth only to
 goddis

AVRELIVS.

goddis. To geue all thyng that is demanded is no signe of any seruant. And to denye any thyng is of libertee. To wepe for that is denied is the condicō ofirantes. And to can no thanke for that is gauen, is the condicion of the Barbariens: and to haue euer a stedfast hope of that is denied, is the gyle of the Romaines. One of these thynges, where in Caius Cesar shewed hym self to be of high courage was, that he had most greatest iole whan the senate refused any thyng desyred by hym. Oftentimes he saied: There is nothyng wherein Rome gyueth me more glorie and renoume to my persone, thanne whan I shewe my selfe moste hasty to demaunde, and they most styffe to deny me: to the intent that after they shulde knowe what is my power to abide, and how lytell theyr strength is to resyste. We thinke it is better to haue recours to the goddis with vertues, thā to displese them with quarelles. And to geue contentaciō to thy repoled will, whan thou seest thy selfe in tribulaciō: and if thou demādest of goddis & of men to be frustrat, thou oughtest to measure it with a ryghte measure, and to prayse it in

it in

MARCVS

it in a ryght balaunce, the great quantitee that hath bene gyuen to the, and the lyttell quantitee that hath be graunted the. O howe vncourteyse be we to the goddis, and of smal remembraunce to men, whan we mynyshe with forgetfulnes, that we haue receyued of them, and that litle that hath ben refused be, we augmente it with complayntes. Frend Hyracion, I am begiled yf thou be not fyfthe yerres of age, and all this season thou haste done nothyng but receyued gyftes: and yet for all that, I haue nat sene the do one daie of service. Certainly it is noo reason to complaine of. vlt. daies of yll fortune, beyng fyfthe yerres of age. Thou saiest in thy letter, howe thou haste muche payne, bycause thou knowest all thy neyghbours to be enuious. In good soth I haue payne in thy payne, and of thy meruaillyng, I haue great meruaile. For all admiration procedeth but by surmouneyng of ignorance, and faulte of experyence. Doth the quicke vnderstanding of man rule the lyfe of theim that be mortall, that they nede not to thynke of the tempeste to come, haupng in theyr handes hasty remedy? If they be hungry, they

maie

AVRELIVS.

make ease: whan they are colde, they
make warme them: yf thei be slepy, they
make slepe: whan they bee wery, they
make reste: whan they are sycke, they
make be healed: whan thei ar heuy, thei
make reioyce. In suche maner, that the
thoughtfull lyfe passerh, some to make
cyltes and lyfges, some to make armure
and scaffoldes, some to inuente netow
synnes, and some to repayre bulwar-
res. I saie the worlde and the fleshe do
nought els, but fyght agaynst vs, and
we haue made at all tymes to defende
vs fro them. All these remedies are a-
gaynst the treuaille of the fleshe. But
what shall we do, that the cursednes of
enuy extend not among all these? En-
uy is that welthe, that euery man en-
ureth. Certainly agaynst enuy is no
entreffe to defende, nor caue to hyde,
nor hye hyll to mounte on, nor thicke
shodde to shadowe in, nor thyp to scape
in, nor horse to beare a wale, nor money
to redeme vs. Enuy is so venomous a
serpent, that there was neuer mortall
man among mortals, that coulde scape
fro the bytyng of her tothe, and scrat-
ching of her nayles, soilyng of her fete,
and poysonyng of her pop lone. I swere

to the my frende Dyramon, that such
as fortune listeth vp with great riches,
the full of crueltie gyueth theym pro-
founde bytynge. Enuy is so enuious,
that to theym, that of her are most de-
nyed, and sette farthest of, she gyueth
moste cruell strokes with hir sete. This
vnhappy enuy preparerh poyson secre-
ly for theim that bee in reste among di-
uers pleasures.

I haue redde dyuers bookes of Geo-
blewe, Breke, Larine, and Caldei. And
also I haue spoken with many beate
wise men, to se if there might be fonde
any remedy agaynst an enuious man. I
confesse the truthe: I reade all that can
be redde, and ymagine all that can be,
demaunde all that can be demaunded;
and ye shall fynde none other cure a-
geynst this curled enuy, but to banyshe
vs fro all prosperitie, and to sytte with
aduerse fortune. O howe vnhappy are
they that bee in prosperitie: for iustly
they that be sette vp in hygh estate, can
not flee from the perill of Scilla, with-
out fallynge into Caribdis. They can
not scape the perille, without castynge
theyr treasures into the sea. I saie that
the maladie of enuy will not suffre them
to

AVRELIVS.

to scape fro deathe, and the medicine that is applyed to them, will not assure theyr life. I can not determine me, whiche is the beste, or to sale more properly the worst, extreme misery without the danger of fortune, or extreme prosperitie, that is alwaies thretened to fall. In this case to be so extreme I will not determine me, sith in the one is a perillous life, and in the other renoume is sure.

I shall telle the, what wyle Cicero sayed, whan he was pursued with many at Rome: Beholde you Romans, I holde you not for so good, nor my selfe so yll, to sale the trowth alwaies, nor alwaies to make lyes. I am certayn, that ye beare me none enuie, for that I am not as ye be, but it is bycause ye can not bee as I am. In this case I hadde rather that my ennemyes hadde enuie at my prosperitie, than my freendes at my pouertie.

This oratour spake after the appetite of them that bee in prosperitie, leauing to giue remedy to them that be sorrowfull. And after this Cicero hadde sene the fieldes of Farsaile, he tooke othher counsel and remedy, such as pleased hym in Rome. For if Cesar had granted

M A R C V S

hym his goodes, yet that tourned not
his credence and renome. Surely frend
Pyramon I knowe noo remedy to geue
the agaynst enuy, lithe thou seest all the
world full therof. we se how we be the
sonnes of enuy, and we liue with enuy,
and dye with enuy, and he that leaueth
most riches, leuith the grettest enuy. The
ancient wise men counselled riche men,
that thei shuld not haue poze folks nere
them, & thei admonished the poore, that
thei shulde not dwell nere to the riche.
And trulpy it is good reason. For the
cheste of riche men is the seide of enuy to
the poore. And bicause the poze man lak
keth, and the riche hath to muche, cans
seth discord among the people. I swere
by the goddis immortall, frende Pyra
mon, though they that be yt wold that
I shuld swere falsly, as much as riches
with thought nourisheth couetise, so mu
che the enuious nourisheth enuy therby.
I tell the one thyng, and that is, that it
is no good counsell to flee enuy, and to
anoyde the vertue contrarpe the same.
Homer saith, that in his tyme ther wer
two Grekes extreme in al extremities:
The one was extreme in riches, & ther
fore he was persecuted by enuye, and
that

AVRELIVS.

that was Achilles: and the other was
 loydenoted of malice, but no man had
 any at hym, and that was Thiestes.
 Certainly I had leuer be Achilles with
 his enuye, than Thiestes without it.
 Thou knowest well, that we Romayns
 seeke not but for reste in our lyfe, and
 for honour after deth. And sith it is so,
 it is not possible but the man that euery
 man enuieth his renoume, ought to bee
 exalted in the rest of his life. And sith
 I see those two thynges in the, suche as
 be thy frendes taketh litell thoughte,
 for that thyne ennemyes murmure a-
 gainst the. Thou writest to me, howe
 they of Lyons doo well, and are mery:
 excepte thy selfe, that art heuy, and full
 of pensiuenesse, and sith they shewe not
 to haue pleasure at thy displeasure, shew
 not thy self displeased with their plea-
 sure. For it maie chaunce one daie they
 shal be sorowfull, whan þ thou art me-
 ry: than thou shalt be quire with them.
 In an euill person there can bee noo
 greater pll, nor in a good man, a great-
 ter faute than to be displeased with an
 other mannes welthe, and to take plea-
 sure at an nother mans harme. And in
 case that all doo vs damage with enuy,

MARCVS

yet muche more a frende, than the enemy. For of myne enemy I will beware, and for feare he will withdraue: but a frende with his amitie may begyle me, and I by my fidelitie shal not perceive. Amonge all mortall enemies there is none worse than a frende that is envious of my felicitie. Pyramon my friend I wille conclude, yf thou wilt withdrawe thy selfe fro enemies, than kepe companie with thyn owne familyar freendes. I worte not what to wyte more to the, but with all my herte I lamente thy heuynesse. Thou knowest howe thy nece Brissa was slaine with a dagger by her owne husbande. I hadde great compassion for her death, and for the renoume that we left behynde her. Flavius Briscus thyn bucle is newly made Censure. The processe betwene thy brother Fornio and Britto is determined by the senate, and it pleaseth me right well, that they bee frendes, and euery man well content. The booke intituled the consolacion of heuynesse, I haue ended, and layde it in the capitol. I haue written it in grecke, and that is the cause that I sente it not to the. But I do send the a ricke sword, and a fatte girdell.

AVRELIVS.

girdell. Faustine my wife dothe salute
the, and sendeth thy wife two sclaues.
The goddis be my keepers, and comfort
the in thy present heupnes. Marke the
man fortunate, to Pyramon soore dis-
comforted.

A letter sent by Marcus the emperor
to Cornelius of the trauaile of war,
and vanitie of trypumphe.

The seconde letter.

MArke emperor of Rome to the
Cornelius my faithfull friend, sa-
lutacion to thy person, and good
fortune to thy desyred lyfe. As thou in
time passed, hast ben partner of my tra-
uailes, I haue sente to call the to gyue
the pleasure of my triumphes. By the
aboundaunce of rychesse dpuersitie of
captiues, fiercnesse of capytaines that
we haue brought to Rome, thou maiest
perceyue what perilles we haue suffe-
red in this warre. The Parthes are
good men of warre: and as euery man
syndeth in theyr owne lande defendeth
theyre howses with stronge herte: and
surely they dooe lyke good menne.
For without reason we dye of affection

Z liii to

M A R C V S

to take other mennes goodes : and they
with reason do labour to defende that
is theyr owne. Lette noo man take enu-
ye at the Romaine capityne, for any
triumph that is gyuen hym by his ma-
ther Rome. For one daye of honoure,
he is a thousande dayes in dispaire of
his lyfe. I wylle not speake, that I
myght saie of theym that be in warre,
and dwell in Rome, and ben cruell iud-
ges of their owne fame. And sith that
the propre renoume of a man lieth in o-
ther folkes tongis, it is not said bicause
his persone hath merited, but bicause
that they do shewe their enuy. But our
foolishenes is so folyshe, and the repu-
tation of menne so vayne, that for one
vayne worde, more than for our profit,
we put our lyfe in daunger, and lay our
honour to gauge with trauayle, rather
than to lyue, and to assure our renoume
with rest. I sweare by the goddis im-
mortall, that the daye of my triumph
beynge in the chariotte, I was as pen-
sive as I myght be. O Rome, cursed be
thy folyshe, and wo bee to hym that hath
broughte vp in the so moche pride. And
cursed be he that hath inuented so gret
pompe in the. What greater or more
vne

AVRELIVS.

megall lyghtnesse can bee, than that a
 Romayne capytayne, bycause he hath
 conquered realmes, altered peassibles,
 bestrope titles, caste downe fortres-
 ses, robbed the poore, enryched tyrans-
 ses, shedde muche bloudde, and made
 infinite wydowes, shoulde for recom-
 pence of all these damages be receyued
 with great triumph? Where hast thou
 sent a greater folke? Infinite numbze
 is destroyed in warre, and one alone shal
 bere awaie the glozy therof: And though
 suche miserable conquerours merited
 not to be buried, yet whan I went tho-
 rough the stretes of Rome (I tell it as
 a secreete betwene the and me) that whā
 the chariot triumphaut came, and the
 unhappy prisoners charged with irons,
 remembryng the infynite treasures yll
 gotten, and hearyng the lamentacions
 of the wydowes sorowfully weepng
 for the deathe of theyr husbandes, and
 callynge to mynde our manifolde fren-
 des dead: though I retoyced me open-
 ly, I wept droppes of bloud secretly.
 I can not tell what person takerh plea-
 sure in hym selfe of an othermans da-
 mage. In this case I praise not the As-
 syrians, nor I cnupe not the Persians,

M A R C V S

nor am contente with the Lacedemonia
 ens, nor approue the Caldeens, nor
 contente me with the Grekes. I curse
 the Trojans, and condempne them of
 Carthage, bycause they folowed not
 the zeale of iustice, but what they dyd
 in theyr tyme was with rage of pryde,
 wherby they and theyr realmes were
 brought into sleaunder, and was occa-
 sion to lese vs. O cursed Rome, cursed
 thou haste bene, and cursed thou shalt
 be. For if the fatal destinies deceiue me
 not, and myne vnderstandyng fayle me
 not, and that fortune holde not false,
 we shall se in tyme to come, Rome shall
 be in lyke case as other realmes be now
 in oure daies: And where as now
 with trianny thou art lady ouer all se-
 gnouryes, it shall come by iustice, that
 thou shalt tourne to bee bonde to
 them, that at now vnder thy bondage.
 O ylle fortunate Rome: I saie it by-
 cause that vertue is soo deere in the,
 and makest folpe so great cheape. Per-
 aduenture thou arte more autentike
 than Babilon, fairer than Bely, rycher
 than Carthage, stronger than Troie,
 better peopled than Thebes, more sta-
 red with ships than Corinth, more deli-
 cious

AVRELIVS.

lions than Thyre, more inerpugnable
 than Aquille, more happy than Iuma-
 cy: we se how they all are perished, for
 all they: vertues and valiaunt defen-
 bers, and thou hopest to abide perpetu-
 ally, stored with them that be vicious,
 and peopled with such as be ful of vlee.
 O Rome, marke this for certaine, that
 the glorie that thou hast at this houte,
 was fyrst theyrs: and this destruction
 that now is theyrs, hereafter shall be
 thyne. My dere frend Cornelius, Shall
 I shewe the, the losse of the Romaine
 people, but I can not tell it the without
 weppng: I the Emperour of Rome
 commaunde, I make decrees for the
 warre: if any countreie arylse, by sow-
 nyng of a troumpette to, make men to
 reise they: baners, and to create newe
 Capptaines. And it is a thyng verai e-
 uident, to se, that whan they reise their
 standerdes, and haue leaue to make
 and assaile ennemies, children leaue
 they: mothers, students leaue they:
 scholes, seruantes forsake they: mai-
 sters, and officers they: offices, to the
 entente that vnder the colour and craft
 of gopnge to warre, they shulde not be
 chastysed by iustyce. They haue

no

MARCVS

no feare of the goddis, no: reuerence to the temples, no: obedyence to they: fathers, no: loue no: awe of the people, and loue to lyue ydelly, and hate iuste labour, and they: exercyses are domageable. Some do robbe the churches, some make quarells and stryfes, and some breake gates open, and beare the goodis awaie. Sometyme they take theim that bee at libertee, and deliuer theim that shulde be prisoners. They passe the nyghtes in playes, and the daies in blasphemies; fynally they are vnfete to do well: and are holly disposed to do yll, what shall I saie of they: negligence? I am ashamed to write it. They leaue they: own wyues and take other mens. They dishonour the daughters of honest men, and begyle yong maidens. They enforce they: hostelles, and neyghbours wyues: and worse of all, the women that do go with them, set them agog that do tarpe. And so in this maner none of these women that so go, scapeth without losse of honour, and the other are stryken with bites in their hertes, bycause thei tarpe. Think surely Cornelius, that the enterpryses are small, where as women dooe go to warre.

AVRELIVS.

warre. Thou knowest, that the women
 Amazons haue made greater warre
 in Grece, than the cruell ennemies, and
 not for bycause they hadde not men y-
 aswe, but bycause they were so manye
 women. Pyrrhus was overcome by A-
 lexander. The valyant capitaine Hanni-
 ball was lord of Italy, as long as he
 suffered noo women to come in his wata-
 rs. And whan he was enamoured of a
 fayre younge damoyzell of Capue, he
 was faine forthwith to turne his back
 to Rome, bycause Rome censed the
 fylde fro lecherie. For the same cause
 Humancle was caste to the erthe. And
 I my selfe haue sene in the warre of
 werthes. c. lli. M. horse men. lxx. M.
 foot men, and .ccc. M. women. And
 Medespnes wente so, that fro our hoste
 I sent a waile Faustyne my wyfe, and
 so dydde othe senatours theyr wyues
 home to theyr houses, to the intent that
 they shulde serue them that were olde,
 and byng vp theyr children. That day
 that a Barricion is approued by the se-
 nate, and ledde aboute Rome by the
 Consules, the egle is hanged at his
 breast, and his rayment is redde, and
 he after clysethe in suche pryde, that he
 remem-

remembrethe not the pouertee of the
 tyme passed, but thynketh to be Empe-
 rour of Rome forthwith. Behold than
 what thei do. Thei with theyr berdes,
 and rusle theyr heares, boystous theyr
 wordes, they change theyr clothes, and
 rolle their eien, that they make seme the
 fiercer. And finally, thei loue to be fea-
 red, and hate to be loued. And wotest
 thou not that they will be feared? On
 a daie beyng at Pentapolyu, I hadde a
 capitaine of mine, uot seying me, I swear
 and blaspheme, sayng to a woman his
 hostesse: ye vyllainous people, will not
 knote the capitaines of warre? I will
 thou knowest mother, that the erth ne-
 uer trembleth, but whan it is thret of a
 capitaine Romayne: and God neuer
 causeth the sonne to shyne, but where
 as wee bee obeyed. But nowe frende
 Cornelius, sythe I haue blasoned his
 baunt, harken his vertue and worthy-
 nesse. I swear to the, that the saied ca-
 pitaine, for all his boist, beyng in a cru-
 ell battaile, was the fyrste that fled a-
 lone fro the battaile, and left the stan-
 derde: wherin he dyd inough, to cause
 me lose the fiede. But whan it was
 done, I caused to strike of his hed. It is
 all

AVRELIVS.

an infallible rule, & they & shew the self
most sterle, in effect are moſte cowardes.
In diuers booke I haue redde, and
of diuers I haue harde, and in many I
haue ſeene, that it canne not ſaile in a
man that can ſuffre and take patience,
to haue vertue and force : And it is
meruaile, that he is ſtrong and ballant,
that can not ſuffre . What ſhall I ſaie
more of the greues and domages, that
theſe men of warre dooe, in paſſynge
through realmes , and of theſtes and
robberies, that thei commit in the hou-
ſes, where as they lodge? I ensure the,
the woyme in the tymbre, nor the mo-
rtes in the clothes, nor & ſpawle in the
ſhoe, nor the daniel among & corne, nor
the weſel among the grain, nor the ca-
terpillers in fruit trees, doth not ſo mu-
che damage, as one compaigne of men
at warre dothe hurte the pooze people.
They leaue noo cattayle buſlaine, noo
gardeyne burobbed, noo wylde beaſte
inchaſed, nor no mayde vndeſloured, &
yet whiche is worſe, they eate without
paiment, and thei will not ſerue with-
out paiment, nor no man can conuerſe
and endure amonge them . When they
are paid, by and by they play it awaie:

M A R C V S

if they bee not paid, they robbe, and
grudge: and the case is come to so great
corruption, that if thou sawest it, thou
wouldest saie, that eche of theim were
the heade of rumour, and the begyn-
nyng of stryfe, popson to vertues, dy-
rate of rouers, and capitain of al wic-
ched theues. I saie not this without
weppng. It is the greatest mockyng
of all mockeries: and the cause goeth
to suche losse and pardicion, that these
mischeuous people are our homely and
familiar enemies: and yet there is no
Emperour, that can haue lordshyp o-
uer them, nor iustice chastise them, nor
feare withdrawe them, nor lawe sub-
due them, nor shame restrain them, nor
deathe that can kyll them, for they be
men remedyleffe: They ouerrenne, and
dispoyle euery man. O how sorowfull
I am for the Rome, that was not wont
to haue in the such yll aduentures. Cer-
tainly in the auncient tyme whan thou
were peopled with right and true Ro-
mayns, and not as thou art now with
bastarde children, than the armies, that
wente fro Rome, were as well discipli-
ned and mortigerate, as the schooles of
the philosophies, that were in Grece.
The

Handwritten marginal note:
I have beene
of Rome
many times
and have
seen many
of these
things
done
there
and
therefore
I am
sore
grieved
for
it

AVRELIYS.

The old ancient histories witness, that
 King Philippe of Macedonie, and his
 son Alexandre, were happie in warre,
 because they kept their armies so well
 ordered, that it seemeth better, to be
 senate ruled, than an armie that would
 fight. I amere to the by myne honestie,
 that fro the tyme of Quintus Cincilla-
 tus, unto the noble Marcus Marcellus
 (in the whiche tyme was the great-
 est prosperitee of Rome) the common
 people had great glorie, as long as the
 discipline of knighthode was well con-
 sidered: and we beganne to lose, whan
 our capytaines began to desert to the
 enemyes, and condemned. O cursed
 be thou Sic, and cursed be the day, that
 he had conquest of the. The goodnes
 that hath folowed thereby, we see it ac-
 cure, and the damage that is come by
 the, shall alwaies be sorowed. In the
 we have wasted our treasures, and
 thou hast fylled vs with thy byres: In
 change of stronge and vertuous men,
 thou hast sent thy wantons to vs: We
 have overcome thy cities, and thou tri-
 umphest of our vertues: we have be-
 lieve downe thy fortresses, and thou hast
 dropt our good customes: by force
 thou

MARCVS VII

Thou arte become ours, and with our
good wylles, wee are now thyne. Un-
justely wee are lordes of thy realmes,
and we are iuste subiectes to thy vices.
Fynally, thou Alsie shalt bee the sepul-
chre of Rome, and thou Rome shalt be
the synke and gutter of the fylthynesse
of Alsie. Certaynely Rome oughte to
haue been contente with the landes of
Italy, which is the nauill of the world,
withouth conqueringe the landes of Al-
sie, to bereue theym from other. I like
well thynges that I haue redde of my
predecessours, sayynge that they were
proude, as we they? successours be to
hardy. And I sweare vnto the, that yet
peraduenture, after the peyne, we shall
become vertuous and good. All the ry-
chesse and triumphes that our forefa-
thers haue brought out of Alsie, the god-
des and the rychesse, and they alsoo,
with the tyme at laste hadde an ende:
but the wantonnesse and vices, that are
in vs they? children, dothe remayn still
vnto this daie. I wold to god, that the
prynces knewe, what an outrageous
thyng it is, to inuent warres in strange
landes and countreies, and what tra-
uaille they seeche in they? persones, and
what

AVRELIVS.

What thoughtes in theyr myndes, and
 what mumur and motion in their sub-
 uries, what ende and wastynge of their
 richesses and treasures. What pouer-
 tie to theyr freendes, what pleasure to
 theyr ennemies, what damage to theyr
 iustice countreys, and what payson they
 traue to theyr owne inherytoures. I
 sweare to the, that if I had knowen,
 what I do know (I will not sale, but by
 blood shedde they be taken) if they had
 offered them selfe with good wille, and
 theyng of reares, I wold not haue ta-
 ken them. The trouthe is, that our ca-
 pitayns neuer slewe. xx. M. men of As-
 sie, with theyr armoure that they bare
 out of Italy, but they losse mo than a
 C. M. Romaynes, with the vyces that
 they brought to Rome. As earpyng open
 in the palays of Aulonros, suppyng in
 theyr howses secretely, the women to
 clothe theym as men, and the men por-
 trayed as women. The Patriens bea-
 ryng Geasques. The Plebeians vsyng
 knelles, and the Emperoures to weare
 purple. These .vii. vices of Assie, Assie
 sent for a present to Rome. Seven noble
 captaynes brought them. I leaue to
 thewe theyr names, lest I shuld shame
 Asie them

M A R C V S

them with their faulces, sith they were
 so noble men by theyr bygbe deedes.
 Some ye pyncis, beholde what pro-
 fite it is, to take straunge realmes with
 our warres. I leue the vices, that they
 recouer, and the vertues that thei lese,
 with the perdition of theyre treasure
 that they loue. For certayn there is nei-
 ther kynge nor realme broughte to ex-
 treeme pouertie, but by warrepage a
 strange realme with finall and extreme
 conquest. I demande of the myne owne
 frend Cornelius, what causeth pyncis
 to lese their treasure, and require them
 of other? Whan theyr owne can not
 suffice, thanne they take fro churches,
 serche dyuers lones, reple tributes, and
 inuente newe subsidies, geue and spend
 on straungers, and make hym selfe ha-
 ted of his owne, prate euery man, and
 haue nede of euery man: aduenture his
 persone, and aduenture his renoume?
 If thou knewest not this, I wyl telle
 the, yf thou wylte heare me. These
 pyncis counsaile with men, they lyue
 with men, and finally at the laste they
 are men. At one tyme by pride, that sub-
 mounteth them, an other tyme by coun-
 sell, that faileth them, some imaginyng
 by

AVRELIVS.

by their fantasies, some saying, that yf
 he have great goodes, he oughte to en-
 crease his fame, and that noo memoire
 shuld be of hym, if he invented no warre,
 and that thempetoz of Rome by right,
 is lord of al the erthe. And in this ma-
 ner, as his fortunes is base, and his
 thoughtes high, the goddis suffre, that
 wha he thinketh iustly to wyn an other
 mans, than iustly he loseth his owne. O
 princis, I can not telle what begileth
 you, for where as ye may be riche with
 pleasure, ye will be poore with warre,
 where as ye maie be beloued, ye wyl be
 hated: where as ye may play and spoyle
 your selfe, and rest in a sure life, ye will
 commit your self to the chanches of for-
 tune: and where as other haue necessi-
 tie of you, ye put your self to be in the ne-
 cessitie of other. And though the prince
 make no warre, he shulde not suffre his
 people to warre. Every man oughte to
 leaue his warre. Attend Cornelius, I de-
 mande of the, whether is more trauaile
 to his persone, oz damage to his realm,
 to hyges ennemyes, oz els his owne ar-
 my: His ennemies robbe on the costes,
 but our men robbe all the lond. The en-
 nemyes maie be resisted, but we dare not

Ha ill

speke

MARCVS VA

Speake to our owne men. The enemies
 invade vs on one daie, and reclude back
 agayn, but our garrisons toob daily, and
 abide still. The stragers haue som feare
 but ours at shamelesse, and at the laste,
 the farther that our enemies go, the more
 they waxe liberall, and our armyes of
 men, euery daie increase in trustie, in
 suche wise, that they offend the goddis,
 and bee importunate to thei? pynnis,
 and noyefull to the people, lyuyng to
 the domage of euery manne, and be vne
 profitable to al men. By the god Mars
 I sweare to the, and as I maie behol-
 pen in the warres, that I gouerne with
 my hande, I haue mo complaints dai-
 ly frome the Senate on the capitaynes
 that been in Illirike, than on all the
 ennemys of the Romaynes people:
 I haue more feare in maynteynyng
 one standerde of a hundred men, than
 to geue battayle to fyfty. My enemies.
 For the Goddis and fortune dispatche
 a battayle in an howre, bee it good or
 badde: but with these other, I can do
 nothyng in all my lyfe. Thus it hath
 ben my frende Coruelius, and thus it is
 and thus it shalbe, Thus I forsaie it, thus
 I holde it, and thus I shal leave it.

2202

IN 12

Our

753

UMI

AVRELIVS.

Our fathers dyd inuent it, and we str-
 keyne it, that be theyr chyldren, and for
 yll, it shall abyde to our heyres. I saie
 to the one thyng, and I thynke I am
 not deceyued therein. To endure so
 greate damage, and to no profyt of the
 people, I thynke it a great folly in man,
 or elles a greatte punysshement of the
 Goddis. Bee the goddis so iuste in all
 iustyce, and so true in all veritie, that
 they will suffre vs without reason, to
 do yll in straunge landes, to whom we
 dydde neuer good, and in oure owne
 howses to haue shrewde tourues of
 them, to whom we haue alway dooen
 good. These thynges freende Cornelis-
 us, I haue written to the, not bycause
 I thynke it nedefull, that thou shoul-
 dest knowe it, but my spyrite resteth in
 shewyng of it. Danutius my secretary
 wente to visite this lande, and on the
 waie I gaue hym this letter. and I do
 sende to the two hoises, I thynke they
 be good. The armour & iewels, that I
 won on the Parthes, I haue departed
 them. How be it I send the a chariot of
 them. My wyfe Faustin saluterh the, &
 senderh to thy wyfe a riche glasse & an
 ouche of precious stones to thy doughter

As illi

I be,

I beseeche the goddis, to geue the good
lyfe, and me a good death. Marcus thy
Ioue, wryteth to the Cornelius his friend

To Porcates being at Galette, in co-
solacion of his banishment.

The xij. d. letter.

Make of mounte Celio, compa-
nyon of the Emperre, to the Por-
cate, beeynge at Galette, Pa-
trician Romayne, salute to thy per-
sone, and vertue and force agaynste ad-
uerser fortune. It is a three monethes,
sythe I receyued thy letter, the why-
che myne eyes myghte not make an
ende to reede, nor my handes to aun-
swere, I am so heauy for thy heynesse,
so peynefull for thy payne, and so hurte
with thy wounde, that where as thou
wepest with thyne eyes outewardely,
I weepe with my herte inwardely. I
wote what difference is betwene the
tree and the stoppe, and the dreame
and the trouthe: I here of thy traualles
by straunge persons, and I feele them
in myne owne personne. But where as
true foendes be, the pynes are in comon.
The great infortunes ought to be suffe-
red

AVRELIVS.

sed for one thyng, bicause they declare,
 who are the trewe freendes. I knowe
 by thy letter, howe thou arte banysht
 from Rome, and all thy goodes confis-
 cate, and that for pure heuynesse thou
 arte sycke in thy body. I woulde go see
 the, and counsaile thy persone, bycause
 that I mygbest see, with what harte &
 will, I do wepe for thy mysadventure.
 But if thou take me for thy true frende,
 beleue me, as I beleue the, that is, how
 muche I feele thy mysadventure. Of
 trouthe, as thou arte banysht body-
 ly, so am I banysht inwardly in my
 harte. And yf thy goodes or substance
 bee taken awaye fro the, I am robbed
 of a good frende and companion. And
 yf thou lackest thy frendes, I am aby-
 dyng amonge myne ennemies. Though
 I myght remedye by woorkyng of my
 power, thy banyschement: yet I wylle
 counsaile thy spirite with certayn wor-
 des. If I bee not forgetfull, I neuer
 sawe the contentie in this lyfe: bycause
 thou were euer busye in thy prosperi-
 tie, and weery of any aduersitie. And
 as nowe, I see the dispaire, as though
 thou wer but new come into this world.
 I haue knowen the this. xxxii. yeris in
 Aa b greate

MARCVS

great ioye: and nowe thou complaineſt
of. vi. monethes, that fortune hath tour
ned her whele. O Torcate, now thou
maiſt knowe, that vertuous men, feare
more two daies of prosperitee than two
hundred of aduerſe fortune. O how ma
ny men, and howe many ryche cities
haue thou and I ſene, ſlpype fro their
proſperities, through theyr vicious ly
uynge and ſtraunge ennemies: In ſuch
wiſe, that theyr bayne glorie and ſlpy
per proſperitee, endured but two daies:
and the hurttes and loſſe that they haue
had, and the cruell and extreme enmi
ties, the whiche alſo that they haue
wonne, laſteth to this daie in theyr be
res. Contrarie wiſe, we ſee ſome ſet in
the heyght of tribulacions, the whiche
haue eſcaped by caſtyng awaie vyces,
clothyng them with vertues, wery of
euyl markes, folowynge goodnes, be
yng frendes to al, and enemies to none.
What wilt thou that I ſhuld ſay more?
They that are happie, are overcome in
peace, and they that are unhappie, do
ouertome other in warre. Therefore
my frende Torcate, it ſeemeth to me,
noo leſſe neceſſite, to gyue good coun
ſaile, thanne to proſper with greaite
proſp

AVRELIVS.

prosperitee, to remedy them that are in
great heuinesse. For as wery are they,
that god the playne waye, as they that
coster the hygh mountaynes. By thy
letter I perceiue, that what tyme thou
hopedst to haue bene in mooste quietnes
and reste, this yll fortune and chaunce
fell on the. Be not abashed therof. For
though that all newe chaunces causeth
newe thoughtes presently, yet therby
comethe more cause of stedfastnes in
tyme to come. Certainly the tree bea-
reth not so much fruit, there as it sprin-
geth first as it doth whan it is newe set
in an other place. And all good smelles
are more odoriferous, if they bee well
medled and chaufed together. I prae
the tell me, abiding in the world, being
a childe of the same, & louing the world
what hopest thou to haue of the world,
but worldly thynges, the worlde shall
Alwaies be the worlde. At this houre
thou arte worldly, and shalt be world-
ly, and shalt be entreated as the world
is accustomed to entreate them that be
worldly. If thou knewest thy selfe and
thy weakenes, yf thou knewest fortune
and her mutacion, yf thou knewest the
men and theyr malices, if y knewest the
worlde,

M A R C V S

worlde, and the flaterpng therof, thou
 woldest reyse the fro the bande therof
 with honour, and not be chastised with
 infamye. O howe we hope to spiede by
 fortune: O how often without respect
 bntwares we passe this lyfe: O how of-
 ten we trust the bobance of this worlde:
 and we trust therein as much as though
 it neuer begyled man. I saie it not by
 cause I haue harde it saied, nor by cause
 I haue redde it in bookes: but for we se
 it daily with our eyes, some decarie and
 lese they: goodes, other fall and loose
 they: credence, some fall in syght, and
 lose they: honour, and other acyle, and
 lose they: lyues, and some thynke that
 all are free by pryullege, where as ne-
 uer none were pryulleged. O my frende
 Torcate, of one thyng I am certaine,
 and lette enery man take it for a war-
 nyng: Men, by whome we be borne, be
 of so yll disposicion, and the worlde so
 fierse and cruell, with whome we liue,
 and the glydyng serpent fortune so full
 of popson, that they hurt vs with their
 fete, and bite vs with they: teethe, and
 scratch vs with they: nables, and swel
 vs with they: popson, soo that the pas-
 syng of the lyfe is no lesse than takpug
 of

AVRELIVS.

of death. And in case thou haste seene
some lyue long without any fall or for-
tune, thynke not it is well, for it is not
by good aduenture, but the more his ill
fortune. The worlde is so malicious,
that if we take not hede to prepare a-
gainst his wyndes, it wyll ouerthrow
vs to our greater losse and hurte. Ag-
the lower dyce they that bene helthfull
with the infirmities and sykenesse of
fewe daies, than they that bee weake
with theyr langour of many yeres. I
saie this by cause I holde it for most su-
ertie, that the myserable man, that mai
not lyue without mysertes, shuld fee-
the pynes by lyttel and lyttel, and not
all at ones. We eate diuers thinges by
morsels, whiche if we sholde eate hole,
wolde choke vs. In lyke wyse by dy-
uers daies we suffre dyuers trauailes,
whiche all togyther woulde make an
ende of vs in one daie. And than sythe
the goddis will permytte, that thy mis-
fortune shall fall, and that the tyner of
thy decaye ouerflowe her channell, and
where thou weneest to be most sure, thou
shalt be in greatest peryl, we shall mi-
nister to the a syrope, to the intent that
thou lose not thy good renome, though
thou

MARCVS

thou haue losse thy goodes that be
noughte. Tell me I praye the Torcane,
why complaineſt thou, as he that is
ſyke: why cryeſt thou lyke a foole: why
ſygheſt thou as a desperate man: Why
wepeſte thou as a childe: Thou haſt
gone an ylle waie, and complaineſt of
thy reſte. Thou arte clothed to god
throughe buſhes, and thou ſaiest that
thy gownes do teare. Thou walkeſt
among the ſtones, and arte ſory by cauſe
thou falleſte. Thou haſte leaned, and
thoughteſt not to fall, and finally thou
arte ſet with the worlde, and thynkeſt
to be free with heuen. Wylte thou haue
ſauſeconduite of Fortune, that is enny-
my to many: She can not gyue the na-
tural liſte, which is morhet to all thin-
ges. It wylle are the one thing: I praye
cauſe the ſee hadde prompſed the, to be
alwaie in ſuretee of her, & the ſhye there
wether, the ſommer ſnowes, and the
wytret ſlowers. It wylle not bee of a
ſuretee Torcane. If nature can not ſaf-
tyl this, being thine own morhet, thou-
keſt thou than, that fortune wylle gyue
it the, which is thy vniuerſal ſtep morhet,
Kepe this rule for certayne, and thou ſhalt
forget it, that al natural courſes are ſub-
iectes

AVRELIUS.

comes to miracion euerie yere. And all
 weillibill folke that trust on fortune, shall
 see eclipses euerie moment. And that
 all natural thinges can not be alwaies
 in one case, of necessitie the goddess of
 fortune muste peryshe, sythe they bee
 superfluitee. Wyght vniuste shulde the
 wyghtwise goddis be, yf they had made
 perpetuall that, whiche is damagea-
 ble to so many: Or that whiche is pro-
 misable, to haue created it fallible. I
 will speake no more of thy prosperitee
 thynges passe, but nowe I will come
 to the banishment that thou sufferest
 presently. Suspicious fortune made a
 hole at thy gate, knowing what she
 did: and thou wyldest not what thou
 boughtest: She made a beere bar-
 gain, and solde it beere to the shee hath
 given the sowre for swete, and the
 swete is turned into sowernesse for
 her: she hath gyven the euill for good,
 and hath turned thy good to yll. And
 finally she hath begyled thee at a iust
 price, not weying to thee that she wold
 haue done the damage: and though she
 was malicious in selling to thee,
 thou wast no lesse foolyshe in the buy-
 ing thereof: for yf more there is in fortune

nes

nes shoppe, the more suspect is the mat-
 chaundysse. O how unhappie be we, for
 in that market is nothing sold but lies.
 And we trusteth nothing but vpon the
 pledges of our renoume: and at last will
 not be paid, but with the shotte of our
 lyfe, and that is the most greatest and
 mischeuous wounde. It is as openly
 knowen to euery man as to the, that
 where as they thinke not to leese their
 wares, false Fortune in that they pur-
 pose, to their mishap lyeth in a waite,
 and is redy to bpe them. Thou makest
 me verie sore abashed Torcate. I haue
 reputed the ryght wyse and vertuous,
 and now I take þ for a lostfoole. In good
 sothe whan I sawe the young in Ge-
 perre, I iudged the worthy to gouerne
 Rome: and now that thou art olde,
 thou deseruest nothing, but to be cast in
 a galee as a slaue. O how many thin-
 ges are there to know a man by: There
 is not soo highe a toppe of a hyll, but it
 is troden with feete: nor so depe a see,
 but it is sounded with leade. And in a
 hundred yerres one man can not attaine
 to knowe an other mans heart. Tell me
 I praye the, what lookedst thou for of
 fortune, after so great welthe: I prayng

AVRELIVS.

Of the world, thynke to be in the world.
 Of the chyldren of vanitie go and walke
 so longe, that at laste theyr disordinate
 hope can not take fro the worlde their
 vntike villanies and shamefulnesse, the
 whiche fortune doothe not with theym
 that she hath reised vnto the skies, thin
 and than, that she shall come with the
 in the lowest parties? O foole Torcas
 thou thoughtest thou to passe the sea with
 that perill, to eate fleshe without bones,
 to wyne without lies, to walke
 in the wapes without syndynge stones,
 to be to heate without chaffe? In good
 time, if thou thoughtest to be yll goo-
 des without hynderaunce of thy good
 fame, and soo maynteyne thy good re-
 name without losse of yll gotten goo-
 des. I would witte of the, what thou
 dydest hope to doo, for the so longe sea-
 son, thou hast made a face in the world
 that thou perce thou hast been in the grace
 of the worlde, now it is tyme for heis
 to fall at some disorde therwith,
 I tell kynge of the Assyriens, hoped to
 haue but seuen yeres of good prosperi-
 ty: Queene Semiramis but onely six.
 I tell kynge of the Lacedemoniens tyme.
 I tell kynge of the Caldiens foure.

Bb

Alexan:

MARCVS

Alexander kyng of the Grekes. iii. He
milcar the great of Carthage but two,
and our Caius Cesar Romayn but one
onely, and many before, and sithe not
one yere: And sith thou were þ most vn-
known of linage, the grossest of vnder-
standyng, and the leaste of power, the
darkest of fame, and the mooste weake
in merites: wherfore than complaynest
thou on fortune: If thou haddest been
vertuose in all these. xxx. yeres, thou
haddest neuer eaten without thoughte,
nor neuer spoken withoute suspicion,
nor slept without sterpyng, thyngyng
what thou haddest to doo, and wherein
fortune myghte begyle the. He that is
so long besette about with so many en-
nemyes, I can not tell howe he shoulde
take any sure slepe. Ah Torcate Tor-
cate, the worlde hathe so many falles,
and we knowe so yll howe to contynue
among them, that be worldly, that scant-
ly we are fallen, whan our handes and
fete like sclauens be so fast tyed, that we
can not lose thetm. It filleth our perso-
nes full of vices, strengtheth our sin-
wes to wickednes, weaketh our vertes
in vertues, and finally rendreth our spi-
rites in a traunce, and maseh our vn-
derstand

AVRELIVS.

herstandyng, and chaungeth out taste,
and suffereth vs as beastes, to sweete
our euilles that we feelee with waylyn-
ges, all thoughte as men we durste not
sweete it. And that this is true, it appe-
reth, that whan we see, that wee lose,
we lamente and complayne: and none
can helpe hym selfe. This small lesson,
I write to the, to the ende thou shuldest
lyue in lesse thoughte. The horse colke
that thou dyddest send me, leapeyth very
welle: The spanyell that thou sente to
me, is well, but he is wyld: The calfe
was veraiie fatte, and I woulde haue
eaten it forthewith, but my wyfe Fau-
stine busily praied me to keepe it, and
thynketh that it was stollen in a gar-
dyne. I sende to the, ii. M. sexters for
to succout the in thy trauayles. And as
touchyng thy banysment, at tyme con-
venient I shall dispatche thy mattiers
with the senate. The consolation of the
goddis, and the loue of mā be with the
Torcate. The fodeinnesse of euils, and
the pie of the furies be seperate fro me
Marcus Aurelius. Faustine my wyfe
greeteth the: and in lyke wyse fro her
parte and ours, to thy mother in lawe,
and thy wyfe haue vs recommended.

Bb ii

¶ Marc

MARCVS

Marc of Rome sendeth this wyltynge
to Forcate of Balette.

A letter sente to Domitius of Ca-
pue, to comfort hym in his
banishment.

The fourth letter.

MArke or a four Romayne, borne on
mount Celio, to the Domitian of
Capue, salute and consolacion of
the goddis consolatours. In this right
cold wynter, there arose in this lande a
mighty great wynd, & by reason of the
great wynd arose great quantitee of wa-
ters, and the waters haue caused great
humidities, and great humidities breed
dyuers maladies and diseases: And a-
monge all the infirmities of this land,
I haue the goute in my hande, and the
sciatica in my legge. For the health of
my wyfe Faustine, I can neyther go
nor write, I saye it because I can not
write to the so longe as the cause wolde
requyre, and as thy thanks mergeth,
and my desyre coueteth. It is shewed
me, that by occasyon of a horse, thou
hast hadde stryfe with Patricio thy
neighbour, and that thou arte bany-
shed

AVRELIVS.

shed fro Capue, and sette in the pryson
 of martyn. Thy goodes at confisked,
 and thy chyldren banysed, thy howse
 caste downe, and thy newew is put out
 of the senate, and banysed the senate
 for tenne yerres. It is tolde me, that all
 the daye thou weepest, and wakest by
 nyght: in company thou dyest, and do-
 est loue to reste solitarily: Thou hatest
 pleasure, and louest pensiuenesse. And
 I haue no meruaile: for the sorrowfull
 hartes lyne with teares and weppinge,
 and bee mery and laughe in dyng. I
 am ryght sorp to see the lost: but muche
 more, that for so smalle a thyng thou
 shouldest bee caste awaie, as for a horse
 to leese all thyne estate. O howe vari-
 able is fortune, and howe seprate a mys-
 aduenture falleth before our eyes: For-
 tune gyueth these euyls, and we see it
 not, with her handes she toucheth vs,
 and we feele it not: she treadeth vs vn-
 der feete, and we knowe it not: she
 speaketh in our eares, and we here her
 not, she crieth aloud vnto vs, and wee
 vnderstande her not, and this is, be-
 cause wee wyll not knowe her: And ty-
 pically, whan we thynke we are mooste
 surest, than are we in mooste peryll.

Wb iii

Trouth

MARCVS

Trouthe it is, that with a littell wynd,
the fruite falleth fro the tree: and with
a littell sparkle, the howle is set a fyre:
a smalle rokke breaketh a great shippe:
and with a lyttell stonne, the legge is
hurte. I saye, that oftentymes of that
we feare not, cometh greatte peryll.
In a close Fistula, rather than in an o-
pen, the surgens doubte the peryll.
In deepe still waters, the pylote fea-
reth more than in the greatte hye wa-
wes: Of secrete embusshement, rather
thanne of open armies, the warriours
doubteth. I will not only saie of stran-
gers, but of his owne people, not of en-
nymes, but of freendes, not of cruell
warre, but of peace, not of open do-
mage or sclaunder, but of secrete pe-
ryll and mischiefe, a wyse man oughte
to beware. Howe many haue we seene,
that the chaunces of fortune coulde not
abate, and yet within a shorte whyle
after, vnwarenelle with greatte igno-
minious shame hath ouerthrowe them?
I would wytte of the, what rest can a
persone haue, that trusteth euer vppon
the prosperitie of Fortune, sythe for so
lyght a cause we haue seene so greatte a
wyffe in Rome, and suche a losse to the
house?

A V R E D I V S.

wote? Seyng that I see, I wyll not
 feare the wyndes of her traualles, nor
 beleue in the clerenesse of hir pleasures,
 nor her thunders shall not feare me, nor
 wyll truste vppon hir flatterynge, nor
 thanke her for that she leaues her with
 me, nor bee soye for that she taketh from
 me, nor wake for any trouthe that she
 saith to me, nor reple for any of her lea-
 synges, nor laughe for any thyng that
 she despyeth of me, nor wepe for geuyng
 me leue. If thou knoweste not the
 cause of this, I shall tell the. Our lyfe
 is so doubtfull, and fortune so waye-
 warde, that she doeth not alway threat
 in styfhyng, nor styketh in thretynng.
 The wyse man goeth not soo tempe-
 rately, that he thynketh at every steppe
 to fall, nor lyue with so smal a thought
 to thynk to overthrowe in every playn
 pache. For oftentymes false fortune
 shaketh her weapon, and styketh not,
 and an other tyme, styketh with-
 oute shakynge. Beleue me of oone
 thyng Domitian, That parte of the
 lyfe is in mooste peryll, whan with lyt-
 tell thoughte or care, men thynk them-
 selve most sure. Wylt thou se the trouthe
 therof? Calle to thy mynde Hercules,
 Whilke that

MARCVS

that escaped fro many perylls by sea and
by lande, and yet died betwene his leu-
mans armes. Laomedon perished not
vnder Troy, but was slayn in his house
Greate Alexander died not in makinge
warre ouer all the earthe, but he ended
with a litlell popson. The courageous
Catus Celsar saved him selfe in his bat-
tles, & after in the senate was slayne
with .xxii. strokes of penknives. A
celsio brother of Pompey, perished not
flotynge. .xxii. yere vpon the sea, but he
was drowned after in dratynge water
at a well. Tenne capitayns that Sci-
pio had with hym in Affrike, that van-
quished many harde battles, as they
were mockynge on a brydge, they fell fro
the brydge, and were drowned. Good
Drusio that had ouercome the parthes
the dale of his triumphe, goyng to his
chariot, there felle a stele that claued at
sunder his hed, so that vayne glory was
the ende of his good life. What shulde
I tel the more: Thou knowest wel, that
Lucie my sister, hauing a nedell on her
bosome, playinge with her chyldre be-
tweene his armes, the chyldre with his
hande hitte the nedell such a stroke into
her bodie, that he slewe his mother.

Eno

A V R E L I V S .

Gned Iullyn the consule, sent against
 the Germans, of our tyme was so va-
 lyaunt in armes, that none of our pre-
 decessours surmounted hym: yet he
 bymbyng his olde wyfte beares, one of
 the teethe of the combe entred into his
 hed, wherby grew an impostume, by oc-
 casion wherof he ended his honorable
 life for so smal a case. How semeth the
 Domicius? As I do tell the of so small
 an ombr, I coude recite infinite exam-
 ples, what misfortunes fell after good
 fortunes; what mischaunce after great
 glorie, what misadventure after great
 happe, what great euyl they take of
 theyr deathe, after the begynnynge of
 great welth in the life. I beynge as they,
 knowe not what to desyre, but they be-
 yng as I am, wyll rather chuse the la-
 bourours and honourable deathe, than
 anyll deathe, and an honourable lyfe.
 To myfemyng be, that wyll be a man
 amonge men, and not a beste amonge
 bestes, oughte to trauaile sore to lyue
 well, and muche more to die better. For
 at the fynall ende an yll deathe putteth
 grea doubte of the good lyfe: and the
 good deathe excecutech thy yll lyfe. I
 haue wrytten to the at the begynnynge

Bb.v.

of

M A R C V S

of my letter, that by reason of the humi-
dities, the goote greuethe me yll. But
to satisfye thy desyre, I woulde faine
write with my hande more at lengthe.
Two daies the loue that I beare to the,
hath taught with the payne that I en-
dure. My wyll woulde write, but my
fyngers can not holde my penne. The
remedy is, sicke I make not as I wold,
that thou wylte take as thyne owne,
that I make dooe, as myne owne dede.
Faustine my wyfe salutethe the, who
by reason of my dysceases, is half yll at
ease. He is comforted her, that thou haste
greate payne of a hurt of thy face: she
hath sente the a boxe with haume,
that thy hurt shall not appere in thy vi-
sage. If thou canst find any greene alind
des or new natts, Faustine prayeth the
to send her some by this beare. I have
but lytell store of money, therfore I
sende the a gooue, and thy wyfe a hir-
tell. No more but I praye the goddis to
gyue the that I desyre for the: and to
gyue me, that thou desirest for me. And
besyde, that I do write to the with my
hande, I gyue to the myne owne pro-
prie herte.

AVRELIVS.

A letter sente fro the Emperoure to
Clandius and Claudine his wyfe,
bycause they beyng olde, ly-
ued as younge persons.

The.v. letter.



Arke of mount Celio to
the Claudius and Clau-
dine husband and wyfe,
dwelling in my warde,
I desyre helthe, sendyng
you this letter. ¶ The
trouthe is, bycause ye are my frendes,
and vnder my charge, I enquire of the
that come fro you, of your estates: and
by theim that goo to you, I sende re-
commendacions to you both: yf ye haue
my good wyl, demaunde it of your bet-
ters. And if in your stomache ye repure
and take me but as a suspicious frend,
thanne I thynke my selfe euen cleane
condemned. The cruell forgetfulnes,
the whiche maie be causer of myne ab-
sence, peraduenture banissheth the good
dedes, that ye haue receiued of my per-
sone. If in any thyng I haue entrea-
ied you with lyes, than I require, that
ye entreate me nothyng with trouthe.
But if I haue bene alwaies your good
neigh:

M A R C V S

neighbour and frende, yf ye haue any
 nede of myne honour, than be to me as
 good. Saio Furion my frende, as well
 as your parent, passyng this waie to
 Alexaundrye, harhe shewed me many
 thynges, the which wer done in Rome:
 and amonge other, he shewed me one
 thyng, that caused me to laugh, whan
 I harde it: and yet it was ryghte gre-
 nous to me, whan I thought thereon.
 Some thynges we take sodenly in sport
 and mockerie, the whiche afterwarde,
 well consydered, maketh vs very sorre.
 He shewed me, howe that ye seme to e-
 uery man right ancient, and very yonge
 in your doyng: for you arape your selfe
 dailie with new apparell, as ye shulde
 go to weddynges: and where as men do
 honour you as auncient persones, ye
 shewe your selfe wanton: and whanne
 folke reuue to se getogawes, ye are not
 the last. There is no lightnes in Rome,
 but it is registred in your house. Thus
 ye gyue your selfe to pleasures, as they
 that thinke neuer to haue displeasure.
 And finally, whan ye shulde lyfte vp
 your handes, ye entre newely into the
 wages of the worlde. Truly my neigh-
 bours and frendes, to speake with due
 reue-

A V R E L I V S.

reuerence, I am ashamed of your vns
 hametastnes, and am no lesse sorre for
 your fautes. There be dyuers greuous
 fautes, that are made lyghte by the ho-
 nest withdrawing of them. And some o-
 ther that are but smal fautes, and syn-
 nyng no waies to leaue theim, are este-
 med very great. By all the goddis, I
 can fynde none occasyon, how for to ex-
 cuse your euylles: but I se now, wher-
 with to condempne theim. Wherfore
 pardon me, yf that I seme vn honest to
 speake so muche, whan ye be not honest
 in your lyuyng. In good sothe I deny
 not, but that thou Claudias haste bene
 ryght free and liberall of thy persone,
 and thou Claudine ryghte sayre of br-
 lage, and many persons for the beautie
 of thy forhed haue ben curious to haue
 had the to wyse, but I wolde wist of the
 youthe of the one, and beautie of the o-
 ther, in vsyng all your lyues in vanitie,
 what goodli trinkets ye hope to weare
 in the straitnes of the Sepulchre. O
 great fooles, ye and fooles againe. Do
 you not know yet, that the tyme sleeth
 with mouyng of wynges: The lyfe tra-
 uasleth on her waie without lyfryng of
 her fete: fortune stretcheth her without
 styryng

MARCVS

styng her armes, and the world hold
 deth it selfe sayng nothinge, the flesh
 consumeth without feling, and our glo-
 rie passeth as it neuer had ben: and fy-
 nally deathe assailethe vs, et euer he
 knocke at the gate. Certainely it is im-
 possible for to make synewes of blond,
 of beines to make bones, of a craggy
 rocke a plaine wate, and of possible to
 make impossible. I meane that none
 shall thynke, but that the greenenes of
 youthe shall waste and wydder in age.
 O worlde, what a worlde arte thou:
 so lytell is our force, and our weakenes
 so great, that without respyng brow-
 nest vs willingly in the depenes of thy
 peryllous whyrlepoole: and bydest vs
 in the thickest of thy mountaines, and
 ledest vs out of the brode wate, wan-
 dryng by thy narrow pathes and byn-
 gest vs into the rugged wate. I dooe
 meane, that they that be greatest in fa-
 uour, thou bringest into daunger, to the
 entent that with one stroke of thy sote,
 thou maist ouerthrowe them. O world
 lii. pete I haue ben in the, and yet thou
 neuer saydest one trouthe to me, and I
 haue taken the with .x. lyes. I ne-
 uer desyzed any thing of the, but thou
 bydest

A V R E L L Y S.

yddest promise it me, but thou neuer
 gauest me any thing promised me. I ne-
 uer treated with the, but thou begyledst
 me: I neuer arryued at the, but thou
 lost me: I neuer saw thing in the, wher-
 by I wold loue the. For all that we se
 in the is worthy to be abhorred. And be-
 sider this, I wot not what is the world.
 O what faute is in vs, thy worldely
 wretches: For yf thou hate vs, we dare
 not hate the: yf thou braule with vs, we
 must be still: yf thou spurne at vs, we
 must suffre the: if thou beate vs with a
 staffe, we saye nothyng: And yet if thou
 woldest haue vs gone, we wyl not go.
 And worst of all is, that we had rather
 serue the for nothyng with trauaile,
 than the goddis with prayer and rest. I
 sweare to the by the immortall goddis,
 that oftentymes I make accompte of
 my yeres passed: and an other tyme I
 reuolue my booke, to see what I haue
 redde. And lykewylse I demaund of my
 frendes, to gyue me counsell to know,
 wherein it is that I wolde speake. I be-
 yng at Rhodes, redyng Iherozique,
 my lord Adrian keepyng me there, at
 the age of .xxi. yere, my yong fleshe, and
 no lesse weake than tender, at the firste
 worke

worke I founde solytratynelle, and the
 solytratynelle with libertee adored the
 world: In adoring I felte it, in feling
 I folowed it, in folowynge I ouertoke
 it, in ouertaking I toke it, in takinge
 I proued it, in prouynge I tasted it, in
 tastynge I founde it bytter, in synnyng
 it bytter, I hated it, in hatynge it, I let
 it, in leauynge it, it returned, and re-
 couerynge I receiued it. And in this ma-
 ner: .xiiij. yeres, we haue eaten of one
 bread, and dwelled in one house. whan
 I sawe it displeased, I serued it, whan
 it sawe me thoughtfull, it cheered me,
 whan I sawe it in prosperitee, I de-
 maunded it, whan it sawe me merry, it
 begyled me. And thus we be together
 vnto this daie, not gyuyng me leave to
 go, nor I wyllynge to departe fro it. O
 worlde, thou hast so many countenaun-
 ces in the vanitee, that thou leadeest all
 wandring in vnstablenes. Syr we suf-
 fer the to take vs, thou wilt neuer deli-
 uer vs, if we withdraw our fete fro the
 snare of fortune, forthwith thou fetter-
 est our legges faste with yrons: and
 if by chaunce we fyle the yrons, anon
 thou manaclest oure handes: and
 though the waie be strait, the path
 Marke,

sharpe, the iourney long, and our flesh
 weake, yet our bodies are ever laden
 with vyces, and our hartes fullfilled
 with thoughtes and pensyuenesse. Of
 one thyng I haue great meruaile, and
 I can not deuise what it is, without as
 my constraynte to the contratyte, we go
 surely ouer the bridge, and yet we wyl
 go an other wate: and though the same
 wate be sure, yet we wyl aduenture in
 to the gulfre: if the wayes be drye, yet
 wyl we go through the vyte and myre
 and plashe: haung meate for our tra-
 uelling we serche for popson to kille vs,
 we serche to be losse, and maye be assured
 without interest we commit synne,
 synge peyne commynge wi thall: And
 finally, to the intent that we shoulde
 be taken for good, we choose at the
 vyte of verrues, and hitte the butte
 of vyces. One thing I confesse, though
 I be myne owne shame, for aduenture
 to tyme to come, it shall be profitable to
 some other. In fyfty yeres of my lyfe,
 I wold proue all the vyces of this lyfe,
 to see yf any thyng mighte haue satis-
 fied the humayne malice: And after I
 had seene all thyng, I founde, that the
 more I did eate, the more I died for hu-

Ec

ger,

get: The more I slept, the more sluggi
 I was: the more I dranke, the more
 thyrste I hadde, the more I rested, the
 more weerde I was: the more good I
 hadde, the more couetous I was: the
 more I sought, the lesse I founde: And
 fynallye I neuer tooke pepne for any
 thyng, but I was euer lette, and than
 anone I hadde appetite to an other.
 Let no man thynke to lyue in the fleshe,
 and satisfie the fleshe. It hath power
 to take fro vs oure lyfe: and we haue
 no power to take frome it the dysor-
 dinate couetyse. I woulde fayne knowe
 of the goddis, why our daies shoulde
 haue an ende. O cruell goddis, what is
 this? We can neuer passe one good ly-
 ues daie, we doo but tast it, and so pas-
 seth out lyfe, and lyfe is but a dreame,
 and deathe waketh it. Lette every man
 knowe, that the worlde taketh our wil,
 and wee with our good wille, gyue it
 thereto: and it taketh our wille to the
 ende to contente vs, and praisse that we
 praisse, and the tyme passeth so, that we
 lyue after the cursed tyme. To attayne
 vertues, we haue good desire, but to at-
 teyn to vices we put to all our warkes.
 This haue I sayde for you Claudius
 and

AVRELIVS.

and Claudine, that in thie score yeres,
ye will not illue nor go out of the p^{ro}po-
sion of the world: Daupng your fete pu-
rified with yrons and chaynes, what
is than to be hoped of yong personnes,
which be of flue and twenty yeres old?
Excepte my memory sayle me, whan I
was with you, ye had your newewes,
sonnes of your chyldren maryed, and
nieres, daughters of your daughters
maryed: & me thinketh, whan the guy-
ues come, the season of cherres is not
come: and whan the newe wine is tun-
ned: the dry bukkes at cast out. Can ye
suffre dyuers newewes, sonnes to your
chyldren, in your hous, and few yeres in
your persons? Wery seldom we se fruit
and the floutes togither: for whan the
one is ripe, and in season, than the other
is cleane gone and auoyded.

In this case I thynke greatte mira-
uile, howe ye can bee of many yeres,
and seme to be yong. I knowe none o-
ther thynge, but whan ye maryed Lam-
berte, your owne daughter to Drusio,
& Matrine your niece, daughter of your
daughter, with Lambert that wer al ly-
le and yong chyldren: and sith that ye
bee of a good aeye, and lacke good, ye

Ac.ii.

mais

MARCVS

make gyue vnto eche of theim. tr. petes
 of your age, in neede of their dowrie.
 And so ye shall vnlade you of your ye-
 res, and charge you with other mens
 nes gooddes and substaunce. Noo less
 this mattier passeth in thoughte, than
 the shorte clothedoothe in a false wea-
 ners hande. Ye haue strayned it on the
 tentours, and drawen it on the perche,
 for to lengthen the lyfe. If ye were
 made fayre & clere cordwainers ware,
 and sweete of sauoure, that ye myghte
 bee drawen out at lengthe, it wer well
 doone, but ye are but as fruite of ali-
 mondes, seemynge dyse withoute, and
 worme eaten within. For the love
 that I haue to you, and for neyghbor-
 hed that ye haue hadde with me, I de-
 syre styll frendshyppe of you, that lyke
 as I knewe you young, and very yong,
 so to knowe you olde, and verie olde.
 I saie not that ye surmount in age, but
 your witte sayleth you. O Claudius
 and Claudine, I wyll ye knowe, that
 to susteyne yourthe, and to deface age,
 to lengthe the lyfe, and dryue awaye
 deathe: it is not in mens handes that
 desyre it, it is the Goddis that doe
 geue it, whiche accordyng to iustice and

out

AVRELIVS.

our couetise gnueth vs lyfe by weyght,
 and deathe without measure. Ye maie
 knowe, that oure nature is corruption
 of our bodp, and our bodp is putrefac-
 tion of our witte, and our wit is guyde
 to our soule, and our soule is mother of
 our despyes, and our despyes are fleers
 of our youthe, and our youthe token of
 our age, and our age spyre of our death,
 and death the hous of our life, wherinto
 youthe goeth on foote, and from age,
 we can not flee on horsebacke. I would
 witte a thyng of you, what fynde ye in
 this lyfe? wherfore dooeth life content
 you after. lxxx. yeres of age? epyther ye
 haue been good or ylle: if ye haue been
 good and vertuous, ye shall not reioyce
 you with y^el goddis, if ye haue been yll,
 than as well despye death, to the entent
 ye shoulde be no more yll, or els iustly ye
 mighte be slayne by iustice. For he that
 hath ben yll till. lx. yeres of age, in hym
 there is no hope of amendment. Whan
 the couragious great Pompei, & Caius
 Cesar wer enemies, and beinge in cruell
 mult battayles Rome was infamed,
 and them self lost. The annales shewe,
 that suche as came in fauour of Julius
 Cesar, cam out of the west, and the suc-

Li.iii.

cours

MARCVS

cours of Pompei out of the east, among
other there came certayn people out of
Barbarie, dwelling among the moun-
tayns kiffes toward Jude: Their cu-
stome was, whan they came to thage of
.1. peres to make greate fyres, and bren
theym selfe quicke in sacrifice to theyr
goddis, and the same daie the parentes
and children woulde make greate fea-
stes, and eate of the fleshe halfe bren-
d, and drynke wyne with the ashes of the
bones. This was scene with the eyes of
Pompei, because that he accomplished
the peres of fyrst in the campe. O gol-
den worlde, wherin were suche men. O
happy people, that some all the worl-
des to come, haue left such a memory of
them. They dispised the world, and for-
gat them selfe. What strokes gaue thei
to fortune: What delites for the fleshe
and howe littell sette they by theyr ly-
ues, and yet more, to set so smalle store
by death: O what bridel was this for
the vicious, and what hope for the ver-
tuous, what confusion for theym that
loued this lyfe, and what ensample not
to feare death, haue they left vs: And
sith they dispised theyr own propre life,
it is than to be thought, that they dyed.

AVRELIYS.

not to be content to take other mens good-
 es, to thynke that our lyfe neuer shall
 haue ende, therfore our couetyse neuer
 hath ende. O glorious people, and ten
 thousand tymes blessed, that lest they sensu-
 alitie, and vanquished theyr naturalle
 wille, beleue not that ye see, but gyue
 saythe to that ye neuer sawe, as they
 that see nothyng go agaynst the fatall
 destiny: who goeth agaynst the waite
 of fortune, gyue a wyncche to the lyfe,
 rob the body at the dethe, wynn honor of
 the goddis, not that they shuld lengthe
 your life, but to take the rest of the life.
 Archagatus surgien, & Anthonius the
 physicion, and Esculapius the father of
 medicines, I thinke wanne but little in
 that lande. Who commanded these Bar-
 bariens, to take syrope in the mornynge,
 and to take pilles at night, & to refreche
 them with milke, to take clere barley to
 annoynt theyr lyuers, to daie to bee let
 bloude, and to morow to take a purga-
 tion, to eatte one thing, and to absteyne
 from many thyngs: Than me think that
 they beyng of .l. yere of age, and you of
 lxxx. at the least, shulde bee egall with
 theim in wysedome. And if we will not
 take dethe in good worth, yet at the leest

Ec. iiii.

amend

amende the yll lyfe. I remembre welles
of a longe tyme, that Fabrycius our
neyghboure wylled vs, to beware of a
mockery, the which if it be not broken,
there shall folow great dishonour. And
sithe he shewed me so good a lesson, I
wyl paye you with the same money, I
wille shewe it you, yf ye poore aged
folkes do not knowe it, ye be such, that
your eyes are bleared, your noses drop-
pyng, your heares white, your heryng
dulle, your tongue faulterpunge, your
teethe maggng, your face wrynkled,
your feete swollen, your shoulders cro-
ked, and your stomake distempered, spe-
cially yf the graues coulde speake, they
myght rightfully calle for you to come,
and inhabyte in theym. Of trouthe it
is greatte compassion to beholde yonge
ignorauce, that open theyr eyes, to
know the infortunes of this lyfe, when
it is tyme to close theym, and to entre
in to the graue. And thereof commeth,
that it is in vayne, to geue counsaylle
to vayne yonge people, for youthe is
without experience of that it dooeth,
and is suspecte of that it heareth, and
wylle not beleue that is sayed, and
despyrseth other mennes counsaylle.

AVRELIVS.

And is right poore of their owne. And
therefore I sai Claudius and Claudine,
my frendes, I fynde without compari-
son, none so ylle an ignoraunce of good-
nes, that holdeth these yong persones,
as is the obstinacy of these aged per-
sones in yll. The diffinicion of yll, is a
manner not to knowe that he oughte to
know, yet it is wors to haue the know-
ledge of wisedome, and to lyue lyke a
brute beaste. O ye olde goutie people,
ye forgette your selfe, and renne in poss,
after the lyfe, and ye neuer regarde
what shall fallc, tyll ye be suche as ye
woulde not, and without power to re-
tourne backe: & hereof cometh that ye
lacke of life, ye wil supplie it with foly.
Than awake ye that bee slombrynge,
haue no force to slepe, open your slepie
eyes, and accustom you to do wel: Take
that is nedeful for you: and finally ap-
poynte you betymes with deathe, or he
make execucion of your life. Li. peres
I haue knowen them of the worlde, yet
I coulde neuer knowe none so olde, nor
so putrified in their membres, but that
they; hertes wer hole to thynke unhap-
pines, and they; tongues hole to make
lyes. Take hede, ye poore old persones.

Ac. v.

me

MARCVS

me thinke sythe sommer is past, ye haue
 forwarde with the tyme: and yf ye
 tary a small season, yet ye make haste
 to take lodgyng. I meane, that though
 ye haue past the daie in the see with pe-
 ryll, the nyght of death wyll take you
 at the porte of helthe. Mockes do passe
 with mockynges, and trouthe with
 trouthe: though I haue seene you right
 young and hardy, now I se you beaue
 olde: Though the knyghre passe his
 course, yet it is not his faute, yf the
 horse be not wel reined: but at the ende
 of his course, he wyl trimme his horse.
 Let not that begile you, that of custom
 hath begiled men: That is, ye shalbe as
 well esteemed therby, as though ye had
 much money. I beleue ye folow diuers,
 and yet they all haue enuie at you. But
 trust me, that at the ende, honour is gi-
 uen to a yong persone pooze and vertu-
 ous, rather than to an olde persone ry-
 che and bycious. The ryche maie haue
 power to bee moze esteemed with poore
 people, and accompanied with ryche
 and couetous: but the vertuouse poore
 person, shal be better esteemed and lesse
 hated. What can be greater confusion
 to a persone, or moze shame to our mo-
 ther

AVRELIVS.

her Rome, than to se in dyuers places,
 the olde people behaue and appointe
 them, as yong folke, as though they
 lyke the vyne leaues dyd newly but-
 geine. What thyng is it to se the olde
 persones, nowe in our daies, braide and
 make faire their white heares, trymme
 and kemb their beardes, weare stratte
 sholwes, their hosen garded, their shur-
 tes frounced, their clokes of scarlette,
 their bagges embrouded, their chaines
 of golde about their neckes, fringes of
 golde and syluer aboute their apparell,
 estrige fethers vppon their hattes lyke
 grekes, perles & ringes on their fingers
 like Indiens, their gownes long lyke
 Hamine priestes, and finally worst of al
 whan death hath gyuen them dai, than
 they aunswere that newly they wyll
 serue a lady? O how many haue I kno-
 wen in Rome, that were highly renou-
 med in theyr youthe and after through
 wanton lightnes thei were but losse in
 their age: and worst of al, thei lost their
 renoume in their age, and the fauour
 of their parentes, and the profite of
 their children. Certainly Quagiu Ca-
 ton of the ancient linage of the Catons,
 was in Rome, a pytest of p law. v. yeres,
 and

MARCVS

and prouost. iiii. yeres, and Censure. iiii. yeres, and dictatour one yere, and Consule. v. tymes, and whan he was paste the age of. lxx. yeres, than he began to serue Rosane daughter of Gneus Curcius, a lady righte fayre and yong: and he doted soo farre in her loue, that he spent all that he had to serue her, and wold wepe like a chylde whan he sawe her. It fortuneth this lady fell sycke of a feuer, and she lysted to eate new grapes, and it was in spyng tyme, whan there was none ripe as than in Rome. He sente for some to the felde of Danubius, that was a .cc. and .v. C. myle thense, and this was shewed to the senate, and they ordeyned, that Rosane was closed in with the virgins vestalles, and the old man was banished perpetually out of Rome, and his children lyued in great pouttee, and the father dyed infamed. I beleue that ye haue harde of this. There were dyuers that reputed for a great bylance the dede of the olde louer, and prayled the sentence of the senate. But I thynke if Quagun had had as many yong persones in his banishment, as there were olde amorous persones that toke by hym example,

AVRELIVS.

ple, I thinke there shulde not be so ma-
ny men lost, nor so many women soo pill
marped. And therfore the best is, that
suche people, whan they be warned by
theyr seruantes, and reprovued by theyr
parentes, and despyed by their frendes,
that thei make not excuse and say, how
they be not amorous, but in mockerye.
Whan I was veraiie younge bothe of
age and wyf, on a night I met with a
neighbour of mine nigh to the capitol.
I was his neuewe and son to his son,
and saied to hym, My lord Fabritius
ye are amorous thus and thus. He an-
swered me, I do it but for pastime. Cer-
tainly I had matuallie to mete hym at
that houte, and I was abashed of that
answere that he gaue me. In them that
be sore aged and of sadnes and graui-
tes, suche requestes ought not to be cal-
led amours, but rather p. outs, not a
pastyme, but a losse tyme, no mockery,
but a folishnes, for in loue with moche-
ry, foloweth the trowth of infamie. To
the Claudius and Claudine. I demand
of you olde louers, what is it to be po-
lyshed and arrayed as ye be so gayely,
but the bronde of the sauerne, where
there is noo thyng but vinegre, saye
egges

MARCVS

egges and nothing in them, gilt pilles,
and bytter in tast, an olde bottell and a
newe stoppell, a hole wounde rancled
vnderneath, the fygure of an oxe to take
partriches, a slipper waie, where noo
fote is sure, and finally an old louer is
as a knight decayd, that helpeth to lese
money, and can helpe no man fro perill.
Of trouch the old lecherous louer is as
a stopue with a white heed and a grene
taile. Than we thinke, ye that bee my
frendes and neyghbours, ye take noo
hede in breaking the winges out of sea-
son, whan the fethers be gone: and yet
ye begyle me not, to saie that there is
tyme inough: Beleue me, that that may
be done in the daie, leaue it not tyll the
night of your age. For the blante kniue
cutteth but yll with the edge, and he
that is wonte for to eate the fleshe, can
not eate the bones. Than lette vs come
to the remedye, to redresse this doma-
mage, that is, if that the house begin to
falle, shoue and stae it not with pieces
of slender tymbre, but with streighte
pyllers of the life, that we haue to yeld
the goddis, and to men by good fame.
And yf the vyne of all our vertues, bee
redy to be gathered, at the least lette vs
gather

AVRELIVS.

gather that is left vs by vnderstanding
 And sith the waters of our rest, are ma-
 sed with our yll werkes, let vs water
 them with newe must of good despres,
 and than the good goddis will be con-
 sent with the seruices, that we ought
 to do, for the merites & rewarde that
 they do to vs, so that if we desire, to at-
 taine golde for our markes, yet to paye
 vs with the copper of our good desires.
 And finally, I sat to you Claudius and
 Claudine, if ye haue offered the floure of
 your yowthe to vyres, offre now at this
 time, the branne of your age to the god-
 dis. I haue writen thus largely to you,
 as I thinke: and bycause ye shal not be
 taken as towarde, nor I for hardye,
 geue no part of this letter to any pson.
 And I desyre you to haue me recom-
 mended vnto al my neighbors in Rome,
 namely vnto Musine the honourable
 wydowe. I sende to the two thousande
 letters, thou shalt geue a thousande of
 them to Gaurina the doughter to thy
 doughter, I send it to her for a plesure,
 whiche she dydde me at a feaste. Fau-
 dyne my wyfe is verale sycke. Thou
 shalt geue the other thousande to
 the Westale virgines, that they maye
 prais

praise for her vnto the godd is. And the
 Claudine, Faulstine my wyfe, sendeth
 a roste, but by the goddis I dose not
 knowe what there is within it. Nowe
 that ye be aged, I beseeche the goddis to
 sende you and me, and my wyfe, for to
 ende the rest of our daies in a good life.
 Myrrour your neighbour and friend hath
 written this with his owne hande.

A letter sent from Myrrour the mepetout
 to Labinia, a Romaine wydow, for
 to comforte her for the death
 of her husbande. The
 vi. letter.

Myrrour of mount Cello, first consul
 Romain, sent against the Dates,
 to the Labinia Romaine lady,
 wife to my good frende Claudine, sa-
 lute to the, and consolacion of the god-
 dis consolators. I thinke well: thou
 haste suspecte, that I haue so lyrell set
 by the, sythe in thy profounde and gre-
 uous huttes, my consolacion hath ben
 flouretheful. But I reiembrze thy noble-
 nes, whiche can neuer fayle: and my
 good wil, the whiche hath neuer desy-
 red to serue the. I am in surtees that
 thy

the great vertue should put almost the so-
 berest. For though I am the last to com-
 fort the, yet I am the first that feelerh
 my dolours, and shall not be the last to
 come by thy troubles. And in case that
 ignorance is the ende of all vertues, ex-
 periance for all vices, as well somerme
 great pleasure to both away, yet frome
 the worse folkes, and fel and with the in-
 nocentes: muche better amongst vs. In-
 so muche we fynde with ignorance of vices,
 more than the goodes do with the know-
 ledge of vertues. And that we be ignorant
 we have no seen so may be it, nor knowe
 to take it. I saye it because I have know-
 en, that I wolde not knowe, and that
 in the troubles at at an ende of. I have
 knowe thy husband, and now begun with
 the sorowe of Labinia. I have know-
 en it certayne daies, and wolde not
 discover it to the, for it should have ben
 cruelle. She that hath been in trouble
 so longe a space with absence, that I
 wolde have given knowledge of the
 death of suche an enterly despyed hus-
 band: and it had been no reason, that
 she, of whome I have receyved so many
 good dedes, should have of me so piteous
 ones. And sith the house that I knowe,

Do

that

that he hath ever of, my payne hath been
 double. I fele his dede, and now I fele
 in his death my solace and melle, and the re-
 solation. Thou hast reason to wepe, not
 for that he is with the goddis in rens,
 but for he is miserable persons, lyving in
 the power of so many illes, therefore we
 shuld not cello to take payne and sorrow.
 O Labidia, oftentimes I have thought
 for what thyng I myght say to wepe, for
 the pite that I seeth, by for the good that
 dyeth. For as much watereth the pite that
 is founde, as the good that is loste. It
 is greates payne to see these innocents
 dye, and surely it is noo lesse payne to
 see the malicious people lyue. But of
 that that is necessarye mannes needes thou,
 whan to cometh we ought not to scan-
 der it. Shewe me Labidia, dost thou
 not knowe of howe good conuersation
 the goddis be, to whom we hope to go,
 and howe pite the men be, with whome
 we are conuersant, that as the pite see
 dothe to dye, in lyke wyse the good ap-
 peeth to lyue. For a good man alwaye ly-
 ueth in dyng, and the pite alwaye dy-
 eth in lyving. And than sith the god-
 dis have caused hym to come to them,
 it is no greates thyng that they have ta-
 ken

AVRELIVS.

ken fro the. I am in certayne, thy deſ-
 red huſbande Claudine, and my true
 frende, ſeyng where he is, and remem-
 bryng what he hath ſcaped, had rather
 to be ſtill there as he is, than to return
 agayne to the. Of trouthe the remedies
 for widowes is not to thinke of any ch-
 any paſſed, nor of the ſolitarineſſe pre-
 ſent, but to thynke of the reſt, that they
 hope to come to. If hytherunto thou
 haſt ben in payne, abydyng in thy houſe
 nowe reioyce the, bycauſe he abyderth
 for the in his, for thou ſhalte be muche
 better intreated among the goddis, thā
 here amonge men. nor conſente not to
 thinke that thou haſt loſt hym all on-
 ly for ſit he be all reioyced of his life,
 weat than bound to wepe for his death.
 The greateſt ſorrowe to a ſpyke hatt a-
 monge all other ſorrowes, is to ſe other
 reioyce at his dolours, and contraye
 thyſe, the greateſt eaſe among all gre-
 at of fortune, is to ſee that other ſee-
 lyth their ſorrowe. All that my frende
 ſepith for me with his eyes, and al that
 he ſeleth of my ſorrow, diſchargeſom
 what myne inward payne. The booke
 in the time of Auguſte the mypeter the wo-
 rd, howe as he was nere to the riuier of

MARCVS

Danubius, he founde a maner of people, haupnge this custome. The same houre whan a husbände taketh a wyfe, or a louer, they would sweate by they goddis, neuer to wepe nor sorowe for any maner of fortune, but to forget their own propre troubles, and to die to reme by their louer, and so in likewise eche do with other. O glorious worlde, O ryght happy age, O people of eternall memory, wherein the men were so humble and they louers so true, that wold forgette their owne sorowe, and wepe for others. O Rome beyng home, O tyme yll spent. O lyfe yll applyed, O small thought rechelesse in these days, the hartes presente separate from wethere, and assured without remedy in the upll, that men forgettyng that they be men, tourne theym selfe to the beastes? I desyre to geue the lyfe, and thou dyest to take away my lyfe: Thou wepest to see me laughe, and I laugh to see thee wepe. And thus with profite of any of vs, we lese, and we reioyce in leesyng of our selfe. By the lawe of an honest man, I sweate to the Labinia, yf the remedy lay in my handes, as thy sorow dooeth at my herte, thy pittifull weppenges

AVRILIUS.

ynges should not hurt me, nor thy be-
 re and wofull solitarpnesse of thy hus-
 bande: but sith thy remedy and my de-
 syre can not be accomplished, and that
 with death, nor with them that be dead,
 we haue no power, than remitte it in-
 to the handes of the goddis, who can
 muche better delpue vs than we canne
 chule. We see by experiance naturall,
 that some spkenesse is healed by woordes
 that be sayed to vs, and somme by
 woordes that be layde to vs, and some
 with woordes do leaue other medicines:
 I saie this, bycause the hertes that bee
 in payne make a sea of thoughtes, some-
 tyme comforted with benefites done to
 the person, more than with woordes spo-
 ken in theyr eares: an other tyme the so-
 rowfull herte is more comforted with
 woordes of a frende, than with all other
 seruises of the world. O how sorowfull
 am I, for in all these am I faulty, con-
 sidering the hyghnesse of the honoura-
 ble lady Romayn, and the small abilitie
 of me, that of mount Celus: I see
 my self so vnable to comfort the, and to
 remedy the, I lacke substance. I haue
 made the a sore wound, the which wold
 be taken in worthe. I will not pay the
 with

M A R C V S

with inke and paper, that which I may
doe with my person: for he that geueth
counsell with woordes, make remedye
with workes, yf he shewe hym selfe a
frende in tyme past, not taken in sus-
pect to be an ennemy in tyme to come.
If thou haste reputed me by therto for
thy neyghboure and parente to thy hus-
bande, I praye the nowe to take me for
thy husband in loue, and for thy father
incounsaille, and for sonne in seruice,
and for aduocate in the senate, in suche
maner, that I hope thou shalt save, all
that I haue losse in many, I haue sold
in Marke alone. And bycause that is
greuous conflict, where as craft and
subtiltie is forgotten, the vnderstandyng
is altered, and the reason withdrawn,
thanne there is as muche necessitie of
good counsell as of a meane remedye.
Claudine nowe deade, was my frende,
and I Marke aloue am his, and also
by thy description, thou mayst com-
maunde me what thou wylte: and for
the loue that I haue to the, thou maist
despye of me any thyng needefull.
I praye the eschue the extremities of the
Romaine wydowes. For in all extre-
mities lyeth the vice, for all such we-
rieth

AVRELIVS.

etery them selfe, and annoyeth the gods,
 his, and leste theim that bee alpye, and
 do no profite to theim that be dead, but
 geue suspicion to theim that be yll, as
 did Fulvius wife, the noble Marc Mar-
 cello, she seying her husbaude buried in
 the fiede of Mars, scratched her by-
 sage, and tare hir heare, and brake her
 teethe, and at every place swounded, and
 two senators helde her by the armes,
 bycause she shoulde not hurte her selfe.
 Than saied Flavius Censurinus, let her
 alone, for this daie she will folowe the
 journey of wydowes, and so it was, for
 whyles that the haones of Marcello
 were a brennyng, she was intreatynge
 to mary an nother husbaude, and yet
 more to bee noted one of the senators
 that led her, gaue her his hande, as one
 Romaine to an other by perpetual mar-
 age. This case was so foule, & taken of
 every man for a greate villany, and all
 the Romans there present wer abashed
 and wer in suspect neuer after to beleue
 wydowe in Rome. I saie not this La-
 binia, bycause thou wylte doo so: for
 by the god Mars I sweare, the harte of
 Marke hathe of the noo suche suspecte,
 nor thy great age will not suffre it, nor

Ed liii

the

MARCVS

the auctoritie of soo sadde a matrone
 will demaunde it. I requyre the right
 happy, forgette not the honestie that
 ought to bee in a Romanne womanne,
 nor seruaite that is requisite in a wy-
 dooe. For yf thou bee a wydooe of
 solitarie, that thou feelest by hym
 that is deade, than comforte the of the
 repuratioun that is holden of the by
 theym that be lypinge. I will saie no
 more to the at this tyme, but that thy
 rehoume maye bee suche with all men,
 to cause suche a bybell vpon theym
 that be ill, to cause theym to bee still,
 and to them that be good to geue them
 spurres to serue the. And if ye wil thus
 dooe, take noo thoughte for any busi-
 nes that ye haue in the senate. My wife
 Pauline greeteth the, and oftentymes
 wepeth for this my aduenture. I sende
 the moneye to paye thy credytours.
 The Goddis that haue gyuen rest to
 Claudyne thy housbande, geue com-
 foite and consolacion to Labinta his
 wyfe, myark of mount Celto hath wil-
 len this with his vngone hande.
 A letter
 from the

AURELIUS.

A letter sent by Marc the emperour
to Cyprianus his frende, because
he beyng a gentylman became
a marchaunt. The
vii. letter.

Marke Edilis Censur, to the Cyn-
cinatus of Capue, sende salutaci-
on for thy persone, force and ver-
me against sinister fortune. Sythe the
frail Berescinte, mother of the goddis,
I haue sene no seruaunt of thy house,
nor letter of thy hande, that I haue
wrote, the whiche putterh me in great
suspicion of thy helthe, and that thou
art in some peryll, or els thou disap-
peare out amitte. Dischargyng not thy
selfe with so lytell thoughte, nor forget
be not with so greatte rechelesnes: for
thy trauaile can not be so much in wri-
tyng, as it shulde be consolacion to me
to reade thy letters, and yf thy hande
were slowe from trauaile of wryting,
yet enforce min hert for myn ease, wher
in is semblaunt of true frendes. In
that I wyll putte the fro annoyauce,
and thou to do me pleasure: thou know-
est well the small dystaunce that is
betwene Capue and mount Celio, was
not

MARCVS A

not the cause of our frendeshyppe, but
the space heus to Ilirico shulde not
cause vs to be straungers. The delicate
wynes sent out of they; owne countrey
to straungers take the greater myght,
and the fether that the persons of true
frendes be seperat, the soner they ought
to vnite and to yue togyther they; min-
des. Shewe me I praie the Synagogue,
sythe thou haste euer founde me true,
whi hast thou any suspect of my desire?
The grene leaues outwarde shewe the,
that the tree is not drye inward: and
the good werkes openly notifieth the
inwarde herte secretely. Where it is
not profite, there is alwaies breakynge
and saylyng in serupre: for he that per-
fectely loueth, perpetually and faith-
fully serueth. And I am as muche as-
sured of thy clouthe, in demaundyng
somewhat of me, as of thy cōwardyse
to write. I will confesse the one trowth,
yf thou haddest as muche hardynes as
will and thought of the smalle effecte
of my letter myght satisfy to the great-
nes of thyne vnderstandyng, it shoulde
abide than for ylle done, but not so;
shorte, as he that throweth his speare.
In tyme paste whan I was yonger,
and

AVRELIVS.

and thou olde, thou in thy counsailes,
and I with my money eche gaue to o-
ther: but at this houre, that thy beed is
white, men reken the to be olde, and yet
thy workes accuse the to be yong. Rea-
son is, that I succour thy pouertie with
money and to remedye thy lpghtenes
with counsel. For the good wyll that I
haue to the, and for the lawe of amitie
that I owe to the, I wyll aduertise the
as a vertuous man ought to dooe, and
that is, to remembre the benefites that
he hath receyued, and to forget the in-
juries done to hym: esteeme muche his
owne small power, and hold the great-
nes of other at nothyng: fauour the
good, and dissimule with the euill: be
great with the greatest, and communi-
cable with your inferiours, presently
doe good dedes, and also of them that
be absent speake good wordes. The gre-
uous losses of fortune, holde them in
small estimacion, and the small losse of
honour, holde that in great estimacion,
for one thyng aduenture not money,
and for dyuers doubtful aduenture not
a certaintie: and finally bee frende to
one, and enemye to none. These thin-
ges oughte he to haue, that amonge
good

M A R C V S

good wyll be accompted good. I know
well thou haste left to be pretour of the
matre, and nowe thou hast let thy selfe
by land and by see to vse marchandise.
Thou makest me sore abashed, to con-
quere thyne ennemies as a Romaine,
and nowe to take on the, the office, to
persecute thy frendes as a tyrant. Wilt
thou dooe yll to thy neyghbours, and
leane the straungers? Wilt thou take
awaie the lyuyng fro hym that gyueth
vs lyuyng, and take awaie deathe fro
hym that taketh awaie our lyfe? wilt
thou to them that be mouers and stran-
gers gyue moderacion, and fro them
that bee sobre take awaie theyr rest?
Thou wilt gyue to them that take a-
waie fro vs, and take fro them that
gyue vs: deliuer them that bee con-
demned, and condemne innocentes.
Thou wilt be tyraunte to the common
welfare, and not defender of thy coun-
tre. Than sythe to all this be aduen-
tureth hym that leaues the dedes of ar-
mes, and becometh a marchaunte. I
understande what hath moued the to
leane chyualtre, wherein thou had had
great honour, and now to take on the
an office, whereby to lower the soe muche
thame

A V R E L I V S.

shame and rebuke. Surely I thynke in
 the none other excuse, but that thou art
 olde, and canste not clymbe the moun-
 tains, and nowē thou syttest by lye, and
 robbed the plaines. To olde men olde
 malady, tohan outwarde force fayleth
 theim, than forthwith they arme them
 with malyce inward. I saie it by the
 fore courteous persones as thou arte
 nowē. I saie it by the fore courteous
 persones as thou arte nowē. One thing
 I will saie, thou haste taken an offyce,
 whereby at thy felowes have robbed in
 dyuers daies, thou shalt gyue account
 thereof in one houre yē and after the
 tyme shall come, that thou shalt lose all
 in a moment. For the goddis permittē,
 that one shall bee a chastisement of vyl-
 lers, and longe tyme chastyseth all.
 Howe is it my frende Cincinate, that
 in the house of thy father, Cyncinate,
 were speares, and not wytynges han-
 ging? I haue sene his halle full of ar-
 mure, and not of fardels: and portall
 and gates full of knyghtes, and not
 marchauntes. Certainly there haue I
 sene the schoole of noblenes, and not as
 it is nowē the denne of theues. O Cin-
 cinate, cursed bee soo vylaine an offyce,
 the

the marchauntes lyue poorly to be
 rechev and letre vs saie agayne, cused
 beie, bycause the counseyle of one that
 is yll, woulde be accompyshed to the
 prejudice of many that bee good. I
 will not hate the by thy predecessours,
 but I will advertise the of thy mistery
 and of thy predecessours. If thou
 thinkest that thy vertue shoulde holde
 to the ende of the world, as the worlde
 holdethe to the, and hit seemethe by
 thy whyte heares, holde me excused
 of the transite in perswadinge the to
 here me. Howe be it, it is reason, that
 the gate of so great a cause be knocked
 at, with the hammer of some warning,
 and bringyng it to good reason, of neces-
 sityte it muste passe the mylle: and to
 make clere the vnderstandinge frome
 tyme to tyme, of very nede ther requi-
 reth counsell. Wyuers times wyse men
 faile, bycause they wold faile, but if the
 thynges be of such qualitee, that wyse-
 dome sufficeth not to assure theyn, than
 it is nedefull, that his will bee batted,
 and his vnderstandyng dissolued, and
 his owne propre opinion void, and than
 incontynent to take a threde to the ad-
 vise of an other. Take good hede and
 nat

AVRELIVS.

mate, where as the foundations be not
 well edified, the buildinges are in pea-
 rill. The dongeon of this worlde,
 wherein the children of vanities doo a-
 byde, is founded on the sande. For let
 it be neuer soo sumptuous, yet a lytell
 blaste of wynde wyll cause it to shake,
 and a lytell beate of prosperitee wyll o-
 pen it, and a lyttell raine of aduersitee
 will deuide it, and wiche in a short while
 in space, wohan we leaste take hede, it
 will fall all flatte on the erth. If the
 pillars bee of syluer, and benches of
 golde, and though the benchers be kyn-
 ges, and continue a thousand yere, and
 cule into the entrailles of the erth: yet
 they can fynde noo stedfaste rocke nor
 mountaine, wherein to close the goodis
 of their predecessours, and their estates
 perpetual. The goddis immortal, haue
 made all thynges communicable to
 man mortall, excepte immortalitie: and
 therfore they bee called immortal, by-
 cause they neuer die, & we be called mor-
 tal and falling, bycause we all take an
 ende. Howe strong to ener the walles,
 be, yet greatte age causeth it to fall to
 ruine. Two thynges seme the to bee
 free, the whiche fortune can not sette
 abacke,

abacke, nor the time cause to be forgotten, and they be these: The good shall render among men, and the paye reward that they that be good shall haue of the goddis: O my frende Cyncinate, thus acheue the persones, but the goddis neuer. What gerne of tyme, or rotten holdeth any season the fruite of the tree flourished? I esteeme it nothyng, because it must die by nature. Howe be it diuers tymes in leaues and flourishes we beate the froste of some malady, or the blaste of some venemous mishap. Longe is the webbe in making; but it that is made in many daies, is cut asunder in a moment. Semblably it is a pitious thyng to see a man byt with so great traualle, and to berse in the state of honour, and afterwarde we regardynge neither the one nor the other, and yet we se it perishe. And without any memorie of any thyng abiding. O my frende Cyncinate, for the loue betwix vs I praise the, and by the immortal goddis I conioine the, beleue not the worlde, the whiche vnder the colour of a lystell golde, bydeth muche synfulness: and vnder colour of trouthe chaungeth vs into a, My lyes: and for a short pelyte

belife geueth vs a. **ca.** displeasures, to
 them whom it sheweth most loue, it be-
 gyleth with greatesse tromperies, to
 whom the worlde geueth most goodes,
 it procureth moste domages: to them
 that serueth it with mockeries, it re-
 wardeth with true recompences: and
 to them that loue it truely, it geueth
 them goodes of mockeries: finally wha
 we slepe most surest, it waketh vs with
 great perill. What wilt thou saie than
 of the worlde, betwe me? One thyng
 I wille telle the, and me thynke thou
 wouldest not forgerre it: and that is,
 we ought not to beleue the bayne ban-
 ners that we see with our eyes, rather
 than the great metuailes that we here
 with our eares. One thyng I haue re-
 garded, and by longe experience I haue
 mowen it, that but a fewe houses pain-
 ted, nor stalles raised vp, we haue seene
 in Rome: but of a small time they take
 no thought for the walles, but they
 haue cruell enmities with their neigh-
 bours, and greate annoy of theyr boy-
 res, and importunate shame of theyr
 frendes, and double malice of their en-
 nemies, and enuious profite in the se-
 nate, and somtyme to put a gouernour
 out

out of possession, thei set foure in hono:
 and finally al that with great thought
 haue be gathered for thei child, whom
 they loue wel with great rest, somtyme
 an other heire enioyeth it, of whome
 they thynke leaste. It is a iust sentence,
 that suche as begyle dyuers with pils
 dedes in thei lyfe, shuld be begyled of
 their vayne thoughtes at their deathe.
 Euell shoulde the goddis be, and right
 greuous for men to suffre, that the pils
 that hath gathered for one heire in the
 priedice of dyuers that be good, shuld
 enioy it many yeres. We think it shulde
 be a souerayn folie to be bozne wepyng,
 to dye syghyng, and to lyue laughyng.
 The rule to gouerne all partes oughte
 to be egall. O Cincinate, who hath be-
 gyled the, that for a pottle full of wa-
 ter, thou haste nede of a greatte laake
 of this worlde to passe this wretched
 lyfe: wylt thou slaye awaie the skynne
 of thy bandes with the cord of though-
 tes, breake thy bodye in battayle with
 greatte trauayle, and aduenture thyne
 honour for one pottle of water: What
 wilt thou more that I shulde saye: but
 that to fill a pottle of thy goodes, thou
 wylt suffre a, .ccc. perils. And in the bile
 xxxi.

AVRELIVS.

exercisynge of thy marchandise, thou
doubtest not for lesynge of thy credence,
And finally I sweate to the, thou shalt
abide dead for thurst, as though there
were no water in the fieldes. If thou
wylte doo by my counsaile, desyre berth
of the goodis, to rest the as an aged
wyse man, and demaunde not rychesse
to lyue yll as a yong foole. I haue sore
wept for many, that I sene in Rome de-
parted out of this worlde, and for the
I haue wepte droppes of blood, to see
the retournynge newly and bylely to the
worlde. My amitie and the credite of
the senate, the bloude of thy predecessor-
sours, the auctoritie of thy person, and
the honout of the countrey oughte to
restrayne thy couetousnesse. Oo frende,
thy wyse beares betweth honout and
wyse dome, the whiche shoulde exercise
and be occupied in noble debes. I regard
It anayleth more to folowe reason by
the waies of theim that be good, than
the commune opinyon, whiche is the
large waie of theim that be ylle. For
though the one be straye for the sete, it
reiserh no duste for to blinde the eyes as
the other dooeth, to lyght yonge person-
nes, the whiche procure lightnes, igno-

Be. II.

rance

raunce excuseth them: but the disordina-
 conetise of the olde persones causeth
 them to occupie their life with tra-
 uaille, & to take death with great annoy-
 ance, and in the one as well as in the o-
 ther, abydeeth great infamye. O Cincio-
 nate, take this counsaile of a freende:
 Charge not thy selfe with takinge of
 these vayne goodes, for thou haste so
 small a morcel of thy life. For larbe as
 thou arte, we se consume, and wast, and
 not so quicken. But no truste in freendes
 in the present prosperitie, for it is a pro-
 nostication of an euylle fortune. And
 lyth thou arte in a basard lyke a fool,
 me thyneke thou oughtest to disceide
 a foote lyke a sage personne. And thus
 euery manne wille saie, howe Cincio-
 nate is disceided, and not fallen. I wil
 saie no more, but the goddis be thy saue-
 garde, and defende bothe the and me,
 from gylefull fortune. My wyfe Fau-
 nine saluteth the, and she is withdra-
 wen from me, bicause I wrote this let-
 ter to the, and hath comited me to write
 this word to the, that is, We saith thou
 oughtest to haue witte what thy necke
 is fulle of heate, and I thyneke thou
 oughtest incontinent to take a barber,
 and

AVRELIUS.

and haue alwaye the heare, that the
wyffe maie come forth. I would the
couerple shoulde forsake the, and folow
Faustine, and the gouerne me, and the so-
ner oure soules maie departe fro oure
fleshe, than ylle shoulde remaine in our
bartes. Marc of mount Cello wryteth
this with his hande.

A letter sent fro Marc the emperor to Ca-
tulus Censorius, that was sorrowful
for the death of his sonne Veris-
simus. The. viii. letter.

MARC censure new and pong, salute
and reuerence to the Catulus Ce-
sorius olde and auncient. I haue
writen two letters to the, and thou hast
made aunswere to none of theim. If it
bee bycause thou couldest not, I holde
my peace: If it be bycause thou wol-
dest not, than I complayne me: If it
be for forgetfulnesse, than I accuse the:
If it bee bycause thou sestest lirtell by
me, than I dooe appeale the: If thou
hast dreamed, that thou hast wry-
ten: I saye, beleue not in dreames: And
yf thou wylte not, it shoulde vayne to
glozifie me as a frende, yet thou mightest

Et. iii.

test

MARCVS

rest take it inire in aduertisping and re-
 preying as the farther to the sonne, yong
 vertuous persons are bounde to honour
 auncient wyse men, and noo lesse olde
 wyse men ought to endoctrine the yong
 people, and very yong as I am. A taste
 thynge it is, that the new forces of yow
 the supply and serue them that ar worn
 by age. For they long experience moe-
 keth our tender age, and naturall igno-
 rance, youth is y^e applied, whan it sur-
 mounteth the force of the body, and fal-
 lery the vertues of the soule: and age is
 honoured, wherin the force dyeth out-
 warde, wherby vertues quickeneth the
 more inward. Wee maie see the tree,
 whan the fruite is gathered, the leaues
 fall, and whan floutes dye, than more
 grene and perfire at the rotes. I meane
 that whan the fyrst season of youthe is
 passed, whiche is the sommer tyme, th^e
 cometh age called winter, and putrifi-
 eth the fruite of the fleshe, and the lea-
 ues of fauour falle, and the floutes of
 helpe are wyddered, and the bynes of
 hope dried outwarde, than it is ryght,
 that much better at the rotes of good
 woorkes within the good. They that
 bee olde and auncient, ought to prayse
 they

AVRELIVS.

they: good woorkes, rather than these
white heaves. For honour ought to bee
gouen for the good lyfe, and not for the
whyre heade. Glorious is that com-
mune wealthe, and fortunate is that
pynce, that is lorde of yonge men to
trauaile, and ancient persons to coun-
sell. As to regard the susteinynge of the
naturalite of the life, in likewise ought
to be consydered the policie of gouer-
nauce, the whiche is, that all the tria-
tes come not dye not all at ones, but
whan one beginneth, an other sayleth.
And in this maner, ye that be auncient
teachyng vs, and we obedient, as olde
fathers and yonge pulletes, beynge in
the nest of the senate: Of some they: fe-
thers fallynge, and other yong fetthered:
and where as the olde fathers can not
flye, they: trauaylles are maynteyned
by they: tender chylberne. Frende Ca-
tulus, I purposed not to wyte one line
this pere, by cause my penne was trou-
bled with thy flourthe: but the smalle-
nesse of my spirite, and the great perill
of myne offices alwaies called on me to
demaunde thy counsell. This priuilege
the olde wise men holde in they: houses
where thei dwel. Thei at alwaies lords

ouer them that be simple, and are selo-
 ues to them that be wise. I thinke thou
 haste forgotten me, thynkyng that such
 the dethe of my dere sonne Gerissimus,
 the tyme hath ben so long that I shuld
 forget it. Thou hast occasion to thinke
 so, for many thynges renneth in tyme,
 that reason can not helpe. But in this
 case I can not tell whiche is the great-
 est, thy trumpery, or my dolor. I swere
 to the by the goddis immortal, that the
 hungry wormes in the entrayles of the
 vnhappy chyld, are not so puissant, as
 are the cruell dolours in the hart of the
 father sore wounded. And it is no com-
 parison, for the sonne is deade but one
 tyme, and the deuy father dyeth euery
 moment. What wylre thou more that
 I shouide saie? but that one oughte to
 haue enuy of his deathe, and compassi-
 on of my lyfe, bycause in dyinge, he ly-
 ueth, and in lyuyng I die. In yll fortu-
 nes in case of life, and in the subtrill ad-
 uersities of fortune, where as her giles
 profitech but litle, & her strength lesse, I
 thinke the best remedy is to fele it as a
 man, and dissimule it as discrete & wise.
 At all thynges as they be felte at hart,
 shuld be shewid outward with the tong

I thinke that the wyndes shuld breake
the herte with sighinges, and water
all the erthe with wepyng. If the
imporall eyes sawe the hurte of the
herte with a true wounde, I sweere to
the, there they shuld se more of a droppe
of bloude sweatynge within, than all
the wepyng that is made outwarde.
There is no comparison of the greatte
dolours of the body, to the leaste peine
that the spirite feleth. For all trauaile
of the bodye, men maie fynde some re-
medy, but yf the heuy hert speake, it is
not harde: yf it wepe, it is not sene: yf
it complaine, it is not beleued. What
shall the poore herte do? Abhorre the
life, wherewith it dieth: and desire
deathe, wherewith it liueth. The highe
vertues among noble vertuouse people,
consisteth not al only to suffre the passi-
ons of the bodye, but also to dissimule
them of the soule. Thei be such that al-
ter the humours, and shew hit not out-
warde: They bring a feuer without al-
tering of the poulce: They alter the sto-
make: They make vs to knole to suffer
to suffre the water vp to the mouthe,
and to take deathe without leauing of
the life: and finally thei length our life,

E.v.

to

Ee.v.

M A R C V S

to the entente that we shulde haue the
more trauaile, and denyerthe vs our su-
pulture, so the entent that we shuld not
rest. But consideryng, If I be troubled
with tribulacions, as well am I leme
with consolacions. For euer, I haue
ther desyre of the one, or weepes of
the other. I take this remedye to dissi-
mule with the tongue, and to wepe
with the eyes, and to fele it with my
hert. I passe my lyfe, as he that hopeth
to lese all that he hath, and neuer to re-
couer that is loste. I saie this, though
ye se me not nowe make funerall we-
pynges and wallinges, as I dyd at the
deathe of my sonne: yet thynke not but
it dothe brenne my herte, so that with
the inwarde greate heate is consumed
the humiditie of the eyes outwarde, so
it brenneth all my spyrites inwarde.
Thou maist knowe what an honoura-
ble father suffreth to lese a good child:
In all thynges the goddis be lyberall,
except in giuyng vs vertuous children.
Where there is abundaunce of great esta-
tes, there is greatest scarcitie of good
enheryours. It is a great hurt to bere,
and greater to se, howe these fathers
clyme to haue ryches, and to see their
chiliden

AVRELIVS.

children descend to haue viciousnes: To
 se the fathers honoz their children, and
 the children to infame their fathers:
 yea & the fathers to giue rest to the chil-
 dren, and the children to giue trouble
 to their old fathers: yea & somtime the
 fathers dye for sorowe that their chil-
 dren dye so sone, and we se the children
 wepe, bycause their fathers dye so late.
 What shuld I sai more, but that the ho-
 nour and cyches that the fathers haue
 procured with great thought, & childre
 lose wth lyttell care. I am certain of one
 thing, that the fathers mai gather cy-
 ches with strength and craft, to sustein
 their childre, but the gods will not haue
 mutable that & is begon with euill inten-
 tion, as is founded to the prejudice of
 other, and is possessed with an euill
 deite. And though the heuy bestenies of
 the father permit, that the riches be left
 to theyr children, to serue them in all
 their vices for their pastime, at last ac-
 cording to their merites, the gods will &
 the heire & heritage shuld perishe. Mark
 what I sai, I had two sonnes, Comode,
 and the prince Verissimus, the younger
 is dead, that was greatest in vertue.
 Alwaie I ymagine, that whyle the
 good

M A R C V S .

good lyued, I shulde be poore, and noli
that the yll remaineth, I thynke to be
ryche. I shall shewe the why. the god-
dis at so pitrefull, that to a poore father
they neuer gyue yll chylde: and to a ry-
che father thei neuer giue a good child.
And as in all prosperitee alwaie there
falleth some sinister fortune, either some
or late, so therewith fortune dothe arme
and apparell vs, wherein she seerd met
shall fall to our greatest hurt. And ther-
fore the goddis permit, that the coue-
touse fathers, in gaderyng with great
trauaile, shulde dye with that hurt, to
leaueth they: riches to they: vicious chil-
dren yll implied. I wepe as muche for
my child that the goddis haue left me,
as for hym that they haue taken fro
me. For the small estimacion of hym
that lyueth, maketh immortal memory
of hym that is deed. The yll rest and
conuersacion of them that lyue, cause
vs to sygh for the company of them
that be deed. The yll is alwaie despyed
for his plies to be dead, and the good
alwaie meriteeth to haue his deathe be-
moued. I saie my frende Lazarus, I
thought to haue losse my wite, when I
sawe my son Verissime die: but I toke
com

AYRELIVS.

comfort ayeu : for either he of me, or I
of hym muste be the ende. Considering
that the goddis dydde but lend hym to
me and gaue hym not, and howe they
remberiters, and I to haue the vse of
the fruite. For all thyng is mesured by
the iuste wyll of the goddis, and not by
our disordinate willes and appetites.
I thynke whan they toke awaie from
me my childe, I restored hym to an o-
ther, and not that they haue taken min.
But sith it is the wyll of the goddis to
gve rest to the good childe, and hurte
the father, by cause he is ylle, I yelde
myself to them : for the season that
they haue suffered me to enioye his lyfe:
And for the payence that I haue tas-
ten for his deathe, I desire them to im-
pate therewith the chastisement of
theyr yre. And I desyre, sith they haue
taken awaie the life from this child, to
cause good customes to be in the prince
myne other son, I knowe what beui-
nity thou haste take in Rome for my
sorowe. I praye the goddis to send the
lofe of thy children, and that I may re-
ward the with some lofe, for that thou
hast wept for my payne. My wyfe Fran-
sque saluteth the, and thou woldeste
haue

MARCY S

haue compassion to se her. For she we-
peth with her eyes, and sigheth with
her hert, & with her handes butteth her
self, and curseth with her tong. She eat-
teth her nothing on the dai, nor slepeth
in the nyght. She loueth darkenes, and
abhorreth lyght, and therof I haue ma-
matuaille: for it is reason, that for that
was nourished in her entrailes, she
shulde fele sorow in the same. And the
loue of the mother is so strong, though
her childe bee dead, and laide in sepul-
ture, yet alwaies she hath hym quicke
in her herte. It is a generall rule, that
the persone, that is entierly beloued,
causerh euer great greife at the death.
And as for me, I passe the lyfe right
sorowfully, though I shewe a ioyfull
face, yet I want myrth at my hert. And
among myse men beyng sorowfull, and
bewynge their faces metre, is none
other thing but buryng the quicke, ha-
uyng no sepulture. And I sweare by
the goddess immortall, I fele muche
more than I haue saied. And dyuers
tymes me thynke I shulde fal downe,
bycause I dare not wepe with mine
eyes, yet I fele it inwardely. I wolde
faine comon with the in diuers thinges

Come

A V R E L I V S.

Some I praie the to Byette, to the end
that we maie speake togyther. And
for as muche as hath pleased the goddis to take
my childe from me, that I loued so well,
I woulde counsell with the, that arte
my lounge frende. But fewe daies
passed, there came hyther an ambassa-
dor from the Rhodes, to whome I gaue
the mooste parte of my horses: and from
the farthest part of Spaine, there were
brought me. viii. of whiche I sende the
iii. I wolde they were suche as might
please the. The goddis bee thy safe-
garde, and sende me, and my wyfe some
word. Marcus Aurelius right sorowfull
hath wryten this with his own hande.

A letter sent by Agate the emperour,
to Marcurino beyng at Sanny,
nowe called Benauent.

The. ix. letter.

My specyall freende and annient
compaignion, a messaunger of
rhine, and a lackey of mine, went
out togyther at Capue, the oone bare
my desyre and affection to thee, and
the other broughte a letter to me.
And if thou looke welle, thou mayest
see

MARCVS

se my hert, as full of thoughtes, as I
 se thy letter of complaintes. Thou
 doest sende to comforte me in my feuer
 terciane, I thanke the greatly therat,
 and it is come in a good season. For the
 going of the feuer out of my poulse, and
 the lope of thy letter to my spytte, is
 all one. And surely if this case be left
 in my hand, and that my feuer retourne
 not, than thy consolacion shall serue.
 To beholde the misery of man, that pre-
 sumeth to take awaie realmes from o-
 ther, and yet can not take the feuer out
 of my bones. Thou knowest well, that
 we loue rogyther, and of a long season
 thynne amitie hath trusted in me. My
 trouthe byndeth me, that thynne ylls
 shulde be myne, and my goodes thine.
 And there is true loue, where betwix
 bodyes seperate, and but one hert to-
 gyther. And there is but a bytter loue,
 where the hertes be as ferre asonder,
 as the strangenes of theyr persones.
 Take hede I praye the, that our loue
 be not inuenimed with unkindnes, nor
 our remembraunce enpoysoned with
 small thoughtes, and I being an other
 than thou arte here, and thou being an
 other than I am there, in maner that
 mine

AVRELIVS.

mine absence with thy presence and my
presence with thy absence, mai speake toge-
ther. Thy messenger hath shewed me the
losse of thy goodes, and by the letter, I
knowe the anguish of thy person. And
it hath ben shewed me, that thou haste
had a shippe perished, and that thy fac-
tours, lyke wise men, to save theyr per-
sons, did throwe thy marchandise in to
the sea. Me thinke, thy shippe hath eased
me of thy charge. But I thinke as it se-
meth by the, they throwe not so many
fardels into the sea, as thoughtes into
thy hert. And accordyng as thou were
before, I shulde be more bounde to ser-
ve the for thy leade and tyn, than for thy
hert. Thy lead is sonken to the bottom,
but thy counsell is spredde a brode over
all the worlde. If thou shouldest now
die, and thy body be opened, of trouthe,
I thinke, that thy hert shuld be rather
founde drowned with thy leade, than
anye with thy bodye. O Mercurius,
at this houre thou felest no maladie of
any feuer tercian, as I do, for the herte
of thy bodie, and the dolour of thy spi-
rite, causeth the to have a quartaine.
And this euill is not in the body, but
in the shyppe, not on the erth, but in the

It

see;

MARCVS

sea, not with physicians, but philosophers.
 I counsaile the to seeke helthe:
 for there thy lyfe is drowned, where
 thy leade is sonken. Be not angry, for
 though thou hast not thy leade with the
 thy leade hath the with it. Ofte tymes
 auarice seketh out the auaricious, and
 sometyme the auaricious seke auarice.
 It is shewed me, thou art sorry, because
 thy damage can haue no remedy: and
 dost thou not know, that where no re-
 medy is, thou oughtest to take pacience?
 O Mercurius, now thou knowest, that
 when thou dyddest aduenture thy good-
 des to the suspicious rockes, and thy
 despies to the depe wauyes of the sea,
 and thy couragious auarice, to the im-
 portunate wyndes, and thy leade to
 strange waters, and as ioyous, and de-
 spyrus as thy factours went forth, in
 trust of wyunnyng as much now thou
 art sure of the losse: and thus is thy de-
 lyre drowned & thy hope scaped. Dost
 thou not remembre, that Socrates cas-
 tyng into the sea, not leade, but golde,
 not a littell, but a great deale, not good-
 des of other mens but of his owne, not
 by fortune, but by his wysedom, sayd,
 I wyll drowne these gylefull rychees,
 to

AVRELIVS.

to content that they shall not browne
me: But I thynke, if a man shoulde see
the doo so, he shoulde here the saie: O
my swete riches, I had rather browne
my selfe, than other shuld browne you:
This ancient wise man durst not trust
in golde, and thou wilt trust on leade:
cast lottes among your goddis, he of
Athenes, and thou of Rome, whiche of
you hath most fayled, or els is most as-
sured: he that cast his golde from the
erth, into the sea, or els thou that mol-
dest dryng thy lead out of the sea vppon
the erth: I knowe, that the ancient Ro-
mans will saie, it is he, and the present
rouerous folke will saie, it is thy selfe.
And I thynke, in this thou art disap-
raised in the praisse therof, and the disap-
raised is alowed of all men. Thy messager
tolde me, that thou were right sorie and
deuay, and criest out in the nyght, cal-
lynge on the goddis, and wakest thy
neighbour, complaynyng on fortune.
I am sore displeased for thy deuynesse,
because sorow is nerte freende to thy
solytarnesse, and enemy to company,
and heyre of desperation. I am sorie
for thy crynges in the nyght, for it in-
duceth soly. For the night, couerung all

Act. ii.

the

MARCVS

the worlde with darknes, thou alone
wilt discover thy bette with crieres.
I am not plesed, that thou complaine
vpon the goddis, bycause they haue ta-
ken some thyng fro the : bycause thou
that were alofte, they haue brought
lower : No: I am not plesed, that thou
awakest thy neighbours for thy riches,
that caused them to enuye the : thy pa-
cience shuld moue them to compassion.
No: I am not content, that thou shul-
dest soo complaine on fortune : for the
thyng so well knowne of many, shulde
not be infamed by one alone. O Mer-
curius remembre, that with them, with
whome truce is taken, thou wilt entre
againe into the fielde of defiance, We
vnbend, and thou wilt spend thy spea-
res. Thou neuer camest into the field,
and yet thou wouldest enioye the tri-
umpe. All be stopped, and thou wouldest
passe surely. Thou yeldst thy self to for-
tune, and dost thou not know, how she
betereth downe the high walles, and be-
fendereth the old rotten houses, and peo-
pleth where there lacketh people, and
vnepeopleth where as people be. Of ene-
mies she maketh frendes, and of fren-
des enemies, and dispoileth the vanqui-
shers

AVRELIVS.

mess, and crowneth them that be over-
 come. Of traitours, she maketh true
 men, and true men she maketh suspecte
 persones. And fynally, fortune is sucbe
 a maistres, that she rulerh realmes, o-
 vercometh armies, beaterh downe kin-
 ges, exalterh tyrantes, to the dead she
 giveth lyfe, and to some renoume, and
 to some shame. Why styckest thou to
 her, doest thou not remembre the word,
 that the kynge of the Lacedemoniens
 had at his gate, saynge: This house
 is at the putting downe of fortune. In
 good soch these were high wordes, and
 of great vnderstandyng, he knewe for-
 tune muche better than thou, sicke he
 taketh his house at fortunes disposi-
 tion, and not for inheritance. And yf he
 had lost any thyng, as thou haste done,
 he thought, that she restored it to other
 as theyrs, and had not taken his. Rea-
 son holdeth confidence, to argue thy
 treason, by that she depose the the fro
 thy heighte to be an heriter: for he that
 lyueth, heryteth death, and not deathe
 the life, for all dieth, and it heriteth all
 in theyr life. Wylte thou take venge-
 aunce, of that hath gyven the so muche
 paine. Therfore take this counsell: be

Fl.iii.

frende

MARCVS

frende to fortunes enmy, the wyche is
 the graue: Ouer them that be boyn, is
 not ouer them that dye, is his empyre.
 O howe many great lordes haue been
 the thoughtes of thy herte, so as many
 woymes shalbe in thyn entrailes: what
 greater victory maie bee, than he that
 ouercometh all lyuers, shall be vanqui-
 shed of the alonely by death. I say one
 thyng to the, that all onely he that is
 closed in his graue, is assured of all
 thynges of this life. Thy messenger the-
 med me, that this sommer thou woul-
 dest come to Rome, and nowe that it
 is winter, thou wilt sayle into Alexan-
 dry. O my frende Mercurio, when thy
 lyfe draweth to an end, thou begynnest
 to be auaricious. Thou shalt fynd two
 cities in this worlde, in two extremi-
 ties, Rome the head of vice, and Alex-
 andry the ende of all vertues. I say of
 thy merchandyle, in Rome thou dooest
 charge thy body with vices, and in Alex-
 andry thy harte with thoughtes. I
 swore by the othe of a iust mā, that thou
 shalt haue more desire of that thou lea-
 uest, thā contentacion of that thou bea-
 rest away. Thou remembreth not, how it
 is winter, & thou must passe the sea, and
 but

but if the pilotes lie to me, the calme se-
 son moſte ſure, is the biggile of the moſte
 miſfortune. Thou wilt ſaye, thy ſhips
 be boide, and therefore they ſhal go more
 ſurely. I beleue they ſhal go more cha-
 ged with auarice, than they ſhall come
 with ſilke. O what a good change ſhall
 it be, yf the auarice of Italy might be
 changed for ſilke of Alexandria. I know
 ſurely their ſilke will lade a ſhip, & our
 auarice will lade a hole flete. Great is
 that couetyle, whiche the ſhame of the
 worlde doth not reſtraine, nor the feare of
 death ſtoppe, nor reaſon appoynt. I ſay
 it, becauſe that he, which in ſuch a tyme
 offereth him ſelfe to perill, either con-
 ſiſte ſurmounterh him, or els vnderſtan-
 dyng ſayleth hym. And becauſe I can
 find none other excuſe ſufficient to ex-
 cuſe me to thee, but that thou art as mi-
 ſte known by the ſea, as vnknewen to
 the goddis, that is, the vniſtable waves
 know the wicked herte and vniſteful, &
 the harde rockes vnruly men: and one
 wynd knoweth an other wynd. I praye
 the ſhew me, what thou wilt go ſerche?
 Wilt thou go into the gulfe of Arpino,
 for to ſeke thy leade? Than take heed,
 & thynke, how the fiſhe hath eaten thy

A.iii.

harde

harde leade, and let them not eatte thy
 soft fleshe. Thou wilt peraduenture ga
 seke thy goodes with perill of thy life,
 and to leaue renoume at thy deathe,
 knowest thou not, that such renoume
 is a salve for a reume, a baume for a
 smowynng, lyght to a blinde persone, a
 nyghtingale to the deafe? I wyll discou
 ner the embusshement, er thou fal there
 in. Thou sekest thoughte for thy selfe,
 enuye for thy neighbours, spurre for
 thyne enemies, wakyng for thyues,
 perill for thy bodye, damnacion for thy
 renoume, the endyng of thy lyfe, fyghte
 for thy frendes, processe for thy child
 dren, and cursyng for thyne heires. And
 bycause the feuer hasteth toward me,
 I leaue my penne to write any more.
 My wyfe Faustine saluterh the, and is
 sore displeased for thy losse. I sende
 the a prouision, to the entente that a
 shipp maie be gguen the, bycause thou
 shuldest not lose thy witte. If thou be
 in Alexandrye, returne not by Rhodes;
 least the byzantes take the. The goddis
 be thy safegarde, and sende me and o
 ther good lyfe, and good name with
 straungers.

AVRELIVS.

A letter sent by Marke the Emperour
to Antigonus, comfortyng hym in
a sorowfull case. The .x. letter.



Artictor Romaine, E-
dile, Censorine, companion
of the empire, to the Anti-
gonus banished, sendeth
greeting to thy part, and
good hope of the senate.

Some being in Campain, thy heavy case
was shewed, and at this house in the
temple of Jupiter, was thy pitiful let-
ter delivered to me. I fele as muche as
thou felest, and am hurt with as many
woundes. As thou art separate fro thy
neighbours, so in likewylse I am ban-
ished from my wittes: and I weepe at
this houre for the, as thou in my tra-
uailes haste wepte for me: and nowe I
fele for the, as thou haste felte for me.

For to frendes afflicted with sorow, we
ought to geue remedy to theyr persons,
and consolation and compassion to theyr
hartes. I sweare to the by the lawe of
good men, in this case I have not been
discourteys of aunient tyme, nor cruel
at this tyme, to feele it. As I redde the
lynes of thy letter, I coude not holde

fl.v.

my

MARCVS

my handes from shakynge, nor my hart
from syghynge, nor myne eyen fro weepynge,
to see the small thyng that thou
sendest to demaunde, and muche more
for lacke of power to sende to the. The
greatest infortune of all infortunes, is
whan a man maie doo litell, and wold
do muche. And the greatest fortune of
all fortunes is, whan a man maie doo
muche, and will doo but litell. In this
I will see, yf thou haste forgotten our
amitie, and aduenturest at one tyme,
that I haue trustid in the diuers times.
Thou knowest well, that in the yonge
daies of my youth, all thinges wer dis-
charged fro my hart, and chargid them
to thyne vnderstandynge. Than it is a
iust thyng, that thy trauailes shulde be
discharged fro thy wille, and charged
vpon my hert. And in this maner, thou
& other, shall se and here, that my han-
des shall be as redy to remedy the, as
my teares of wepyng are for thy dam-
mage. Nowe com to the rest of euil for-
tune. Thou gyauest me knowlage, that
the goddis haue taken a daughter fro
the: And the monstrous earthequake
hath throwen doune thy house, and the
senate hath geue a sentence against the,
wher

AVRELIVS.

whereby thy goodes are losse, and thy
 person baupshed. The goddis be to me
 as propice and meke, as they haue bene
 euell to the. I am sore abashed of that
 my spirite hath conceined in this, as of
 the losse, that thou and thy wyfe haue
 felt: yet am I not abashed of the mon-
 ster that feareth the people, nor of the
 rebelyng, that hath shaken down thy
 houses, nor of the fyre that hath brent
 thy goodes, nor of the goddis that haue
 permitted suche thynges to falle: But
 I am abashed, that there is so muche
 malice in the, and in thy neyghbours:
 for the whiche iustely ye do deserue to
 haue so horrible and cruel chastisemen-
 tes. Beleue me in one thyng Antigonus
 and double it not, yf men lyued lyke
 men, and chaunged not the rule of con-
 ditours, the goddis woulde than bee
 alwayes as Goddis; not to cause vs
 to bee borne of oure mothers, to gyue
 vs so cruell chastisementes by the hand
 of monstrous bestes. Certaynely it is
 iuste and mooste iuste, that brute beas-
 tes be chastysed by other brute bestes,
 and the monstrous, by other monste-
 rous bestes, and suche as offende with
 greate fautes, to bee punysshed with
 great

MARCVS

great paynes. I saie to the one thyng,
the whiche semeth a newe thyng to the,
and that is this, the euill persones of-
fende more by infamy, than the goddis
gyue them paine for it, rather than for
the offence that is committed against them.
As the goddis naturally bee pittefull,
and alway haue the name therof, so we
are alwaies euill, and our euylnes and
shamefull werkes deserue to haue some
chastisement. The symple folkes call
the goddis cruell, in that thei see thei
chastisement openly, and for they se not
our secret pynesse. Thā the goddis haue
reason to complayne, bycause we with
our synnes offende theym, and they by
our cruelnesse are infamed. An inestimable
rule it is, that the pittefull goddis doo
not punish extremely with extreme cha-
stisements, like that fyist the vicious
mendo extremely with extreme vices.
The time that Camillus was banished
Capue, and that the frenche men pos-
sessed Rome, Lucius Clarus Consule
was sente by the senate to the oracle of
Apollo, to demande counsell, what the
Romeyne people shulde doo to be deli-
uered out of thei greatte peryll. And
there this consule was. xl. daies with-

AVRELIVS.

In the temple on his knees before Apollo, offering right strange sacrifices, and shedde many teares with weppung, and yet he coulde haue none aunswere: and so with no small inconueniences he returned to Rome. Then the holy senate sente out of euery temple two priestes, and whanne they were prostrate on the erde. Apollo sayd: As one begynnynge is correspondent to an other beginnyng and one place to an nother, Meruaile thou not, though by the reason of an extreme demaunde, I shewed my selfe extreme to answere, Ye Romayns sithe ye felle men, ye come to seke to the goddis, for the occasion wherof, wee wyl give you no good counsel whan ye haue neede, nor permitte that men shoulde fauour you, whan ye go to seeke for them. regard my frendes, not for the sacrifices, that ye haue offered to me, but for the amitie, that I haue had with your fathers in tyme past, I wyl discover to you a secrete, the whiche is, that ye shall saie to the Romaines fro me seven thynges. The fyrste is, lette neuer man leaue the goddis for an nother man, for feare that the goddis departe fro the miserable manne in his mooste greatest
neces-

MARCVS

necessitie. The. ii. is, that more anay
 leth to holde the part of one of the god-
 dis immortall, that is in heauen, than
 with all the mortall men in the world.
 The thirde is, that men should beware
 to annoy the goddis: for the yre of the
 goddis doth more damage than the ini-
 quitie of all men. The. iiii. is, the god-
 dis neuer forget a man at any time, but
 yf the goddis bee forgotten by men a
 thousand tymes. The. v. is, that the god-
 dis do suffre, that one shalbe persecuted
 by an other that is yf, or they haue first
 persecuted one that is good. And there-
 fore ye are stryken with the feates of
 the Frenchemen: bycause ye haue per-
 secuted and banysht Camillus your
 naturall neyghbour. The sixt is, if the
 men will haue the goddis fauourable
 in the tyme of warre, they muste serue
 theym first in tyme of peace. The. vii.
 is, that the pitiefull goddis sendeth not
 to any realme some extreme chasty-
 ment, but if it be for some extreme offen-
 ces comytted in the same realme. And
 then to the Senate, that I wold make
 none answer to Laelus Clarus, by-
 cause they sent to yll a man to theyr god
 Apollo, as ambassadour, the whiche
 they

AVRELIVS.

they ought not to haue dooen. Ye Ro-
mans take this counsaile of me, and yf
ye fynd it pll, take no more of me. In a
strange message sende alwaies the moste
eloquent men, and in your senate set the
wysest menne. And commytte your ho-
lies to balliant capitaynes: and to your
goddis sende alwaie the most innocent
men. The iuste goddis neuer appease
they: yres agaynst vniuste men: but yf
the requirers be very innocent & meke.
For a foule vessell is not made cleane
but with fayre water. For with foule
handes it is harde to make the vesselle
cleane. The goddis be so iust, that they
will not gyue iuste thynges but by han-
des of iuste men. Finally I saie, yf ye
will driue the Frenchmen your enemies
out of your landes, first cast out the pas-
sions fro your hertes. Thynke for trou-
the, that the goddis wille neuer dryue
your ennemys out of Freynce, tyl Camil-
lus and all the gyltlesse that be banys-
hed, be returned agayn to Rome. Cer-
tainly the cruell warres that the goddis
permit at this time present, is but a wat-
nyng of the chastisementes for offences
passed. For that the yl men haue doone
to the innocentes in diuers daies, after
by

M A R C V S

by the handes of other that be yll, the
 paiement is made in one daie. This an-
 swere Apollo made to the priestes Fla-
 mines, that were sente to hym oute of
 Rome, whiche thyng made the senate
 sore abashed. I remembre, that in the
 booke of the answers of the goddis, in
 the annales of the capitol, there I found
 it: the whyche booke the fyrst daie of e-
 uery moneth was redde by a senator,
 before all the other senators of the se-
 nate. Therfore frende Antigonus, as
 the god Apollo saied, yf thou wylt not
 beleue me, that am thy frende, beleue
 the god Apollo. O Antigonus, beholde
 howe the vnderstandyng of vayne men
 is but beastly to the spirites of the god-
 dis, whyche are secreete and hydde and
 where as they speake, all other oughte
 to be stille. For one counsaile of the
 goddis is more worth in mockerie, than
 all the counselles of men, though they
 be neuer so earnest. Of whense thykest
 thou that this commeth? I will telte
 the: The goddis are soo perfite in all
 bountie, and so wysse in all wysdome,
 and we are so yll in all malice, and soo
 simple in all simplenesse, that though
 they woulde erre, they can not bycause
 they

AVRELIVS.

they be goddis: and we that would be
 blessed, erre, because we bee men. And
 herein I see what a brute beast man is:
 for all these mortall men are so encre in
 their owne wylles, that they will lose
 more in folowynge their owne opinion,
 than winne by the counsell of an other
 man: and that worst of all is, they take
 to the vltie in the recthe in doynge ylle,
 that there is no byddle that can rectify
 them. And they are so slow to do well,
 that there is no prycke nor spourre that
 can drive them forwarde. Thou doest
 complayne of the pitiefull goddis, and
 of the sacrate senate. Also thou com-
 plained of tyrfull fortune. There thyn-
 kes there be, that one of them is mough
 with one stroke of a stone, to take away
 thy lyfe, and burie thy renoume. And
 when eche of them hath drawen the as-
 part, than al togither will strike on the
 with stones. Thou haste taken greate
 competitor, & yet I knowe not what
 thy wortheynesse is, I wat how the com-
 strengthes and valiantnes that the an-
 cient barbs had, and thereby thou walt
 what they of this worlde doth hold.
 The felowe of Scipio Aelia, the
 serpent in the mountaines of Egypt,
 whiche

Bg

whiche

M A R C V S

whych after it was slayne, flayed, and
the skyn measured in the field of Mars
it was fife score foote of length. Her-
cules of Thebes proued his force with
the serpent Hydra. And in strekynge of
one of his heades, there sprang out se-
uen other heades.

Caylon the gyaunte to creteple his
strength was accustomed euery daie to
ouerake a bul with renning a fote, and
caste hym downe, and he made many
courses with the bull, as it were an o-
ther naked younge man: and yet, that
was more meruayl, he with one stroke
of his fist, slewe the bull, and the same
daye wolde eate hym all together.

On mount Olympe Ceraustus the gy-
aunt of the nation of Grece, wastled
with mo than fifty M. men, and none
coulede styre nor make hym. And if Ho-
mere begyleth vs not of this gyaunt, he
was of suche fame and dedes, that eu-
ery foure yeres, there was a custome,
that all nations of the worlde went to
wastle at mount Olympe. And therof
came the rekenyng of the Olympiades.

In the second warre punke amonge
the captiues of sorowfull Carthage,
Scipio brought a man, a lord of Mau-
ritania

AVRELIVS. M

captayn, tyght stronge and fierse to be-
holde: and in celebratyng a spectacle
in the palays of Rome, whiche was
than of great renoume, there were ma-
numerable beastes runne at. This cap-
tive prisoner lepte into the park, and kil-
led two beares, and wresteled with a
lyon a great whyle: fynally beyng sore
battered with the lyons pawes, he stras-
sified the lion with his handes. This
was a monstrous thyng to se, and now
it semeth incredible to be belueued.

In the yere. CCC. xx. of the founda-
tion of Rome, Cuncta Ledent, a reno-
wed capitayn comyng from Tarente a-
gaynst Spyrokyng of the Epirotes: he
was the fyrste that broughte. iiii. Oli-
phantes to Rome the daye of his tri-
umph. Stages and places were made
for. xxx. M. men to see the reunnyng of
these Oliphantes, and in the middes of
the pastyme, the plaukes brake, & felle
marthau. v. M. persones. And amonge
them there was Numatian, the which
bare vppon his shulders a planke with
more than thre hundred men, tyll that he
and they were succoured.

Caius Cesar beyng yong, fleyng the
companye of Sylla, because he was

397

89 ii

per:

M A R C V S

percepyng to martus, he beyng amonge the iacobiens, wan his meate with courting and ranning of horses, with his handes bounde behynde hym. It was a monstrous thyng to see, as the annales witnesse, howe he woulde gyde the horses with his aners so fast, as though he had drayen them with the reynes of their dreibels.

En the xvj. yere that the capitayn of Borthaginen entered into Italy, our aunciens fathers sente to the realme of Feigis for the goddesse Bereruchia, mother of the goddis, and whan she arriued at the porte Bolic, the shyppe that she came in, ranke vpon the sande, and by the space of. xlii. daies. xx. men, that came in the arnipe, coulde not remoue it: by chaunce came thither one of the virgines Vestales named Irea, whiche with her gyddelle tyed to the shyppe, dretwe it to the lande as easly as she wold haue drayen a triebel from the distaffe. And to the intent that we shoulde beleue suche thynges, as we here were doen in tymes past, we make knowe it by dedes done presently in our daies: I remembre whan my lord Adrian came fro Wacie, he dyd celebrate

a spec.

AVRILVS.

A Spectable in Rome, wherein there was
more than 11. 000. wilde beastes, and the
thyng most notable that we haue seene
there was a buyght borne by the river
Danubio, who rose a horse, and ranne
into the parke, and slew so many wilde
beastes, that there fled fro hym Lyons,
leopards, beares, alghonses, and foxes
and flee fro them: and he slew mo of
them than they dyde of men. These
straunge thynges I haue recited to the,
that of all these I am not so abashed,
as I am of the, to se the eddy to dogge
mes against the goddis, and against
the senate, and against fortune. These
the at grantes in vertuous valiantise,
and happy at al tymes: and they be so
the as commaunde them that commande
her. The goddis by their naturall
and power close up the furres, and go-
uerne the sterres. And the senate with
the iustice ouercometh realmes, and
subdueth tyrantes: and fortune with
her tyrannye taketh them that they
loose, and leaue them that they take:
and honoureth them that they disho-
nor, and chastiseth them that seue die:
she begyleth euery person, and no per-
son begyleth her: she promisseth muche,

MARCVS

and falsyllerh norþynge: her songe is
weppng, and her weppng is songe, to
them that be dead among wormes, and
to them that lyue in fortune: as shekin
that be present, she spourmeth with her
rete, and thersereth them that be absent.
All wyse men thynke fro her, but thou
tyske a foole. Bewest her thy face. Of
onethyng I am abashed of the, to com-
plaine of the senate, and yet I meruaile
not: for in conclusion they be but men:
per of trouthe in thynges of iudice they
ought to be more than men. And to com-
plaine ou fortune, I meruaile not a li-
tell: for in the end fortune is fortune a-
mong mortall men. And all the beens
is of an ancient quarrell, and whan we
are beleete with mooste greattest quarel-
les, than she stypheth vs with mooste
gtenous hurtes. I haue great wonder,
that thou bepng a Romayn, complay-
nest on the goddis, as if thou were one
of the Barbariens. We Romayns are
not so muche renomed among all naci-
ons, for the multitude of realmes that
we haue ouercomme, as we are for the
great churches & seruices that we haue
made. Thou complatnest, how the god-
dis haue broken thy houses with an
erth-

AVRELIVS.

earthquake, and haue slaine thy daughter,
 selowe in thy banishment, and all
 in one date: But thou doest not remem-
 ber the offences that thou haue com-
 mitted in dyuers cases. O my frende
 Antigonus, thou knowest not, that out
 of our yll processe cometh forth good
 sentences, as thou knowest not, that our
 wicked workes are but awaking of thy
 justice. Knowest thou not that the fiers
 chastisements, is but a presse that ha-
 neth the great compages of your yong
 desires: and knowest thou not, that it
 is nothing that the goddess do chastise
 openly, so that they do dissimule in se-
 crete: Doeest thou not knowe, that in
 conclusion the goddess bee goddess, and
 the mortals are mortals, and they may
 doo vs more good in one date, than we
 can do service in a C. yere. Dost thou
 not know, that the least yll done by the
 handes of the pittefull goddess, is more
 goodnes than all the welthe that maye
 come by the handes of the cruell men:
 What wherof doest thou complayne? If
 pray the be still. And sith thou art among
 strangers, suffer. And thou wilt haue
 honour, dishonour not the goddess of the
 Romans. For the vniust men do great
 QUA Bg illi intu-

MARCVS VII

iustice to speake p^r of the m^{an} that bee
 iuste, and specially of the goddis, for
 they are most iuste. Certaynly as Alee-
 to Lareth, the greatest faute in a man
 that is good, is to approue the p^r rath-
 er than the good, and the most grea-
 test euill in an p^r man is to cōdemne
 the good for the p^r. Thou knowest not
 how iust the goddis be. Of trowth they
 chaunge not for any prayer, nor leaue
 not for any thier nuyges, nor moche not
 by wordes, nor be nor corrupt with gif-
 tes. Great oughte shyns offence to bee,
 for the erth hath taken vengeance for
 the goddis: and thy innocent daughter
 hath payde the faute, for the offence of
 her father. O Antigonus, dost thou
 not knowe, that in all thynges the god-
 dis make werke after theyr owne opi-
 nion and wyll, excepte in iustice: for if
 that they be goddis of all, they oughte
 to be good to all. And if they bonour
 dooeth hynde them to rewarde vs for
 goodnelle, no lesse they iustice constri-
 ueth them to chastise vs for our p^r.
 It is a greate custome, and a righteous
 iudice, for that wyllingly draweth to
 hym, agaynste his wyll is drawen to
 payne. I saie it because thy daughter
 hath

A VERELINS.

hath left to do some good openly; or els
he hath done some secreete yll; for he in
her youth, her life is bereaved from her
father for ensample of chastisement in
other. And to the end of thy letter thou
complainest; that the payne that men
do to the, is more greater than the of-
fences that thou haste done to the gods.
And if it be thus friends Antigone,
thou oughtest to have no displeasure,
but pleasure, no heynnes but love. And
if we are to the by the immortall gods.
I wolde gladly change my libertie
for thy captivite, and the state of
home for thy banishment of exile.
And I wol tell the why: for he is honour-
ed among them that be honoured; that
fortune abseth without fault; and he
is shamed among them that be shamed
that fortune inhaunceth without me-
rite. For the shame is not in the infor-
tunities that are doone to be by men,
but in the offence that we committe
agaynst the gods. And in dyke case
the honorable honour resteth not in the
dignities that we have, but in the good
workes, whereby we merite. And ther-
by the worldes some knowe; that the .xl.
Emperours of Rome, have written in a

MARCVS A

eynge on hys fpynger, wylone sayd this:
 more is he to be honoured by that deser-
 ueth honour than he that hath it, and
 deserueth it not. These wordes are grea-
 tely to be noted, and spoken by a grea-
 telye lord. Than retourne to the pontifex.
 Thou complaynest of the wronges and
 greues that men doo to men, and leaue
 the goddis. I haue no meene aple, for as
 the goddis do neuer vnlike thynges, so
 the men neuer lyghtly doo any thyng
 iust. Note this that I saye, and forget
 it not. The senate giueth an open peyn
 and publysheth the secret faulte, in
 suche manner, that wylth the peple they
 hurte vs, and wylth the sould they shame
 vs. The goddis are more pietfull: for
 though they geue vs peyne, yet they
 kepe the faulte close. I my frende An-
 tigon though the goddes gather to-
 gyther the faulte and to the brylle,
 that we can nyste secretly. Belue me,
 and doubte not, the goddis geue lyfe to
 manye the whiche men bereaue. Whe-
 fore I praye, that thou shaldest re-
 and wylth, that is the the goddis haue
 suffred the ples that thou haue doone
 secretly, that thou muste suffer open
 chastysment, that me haue giuen to the.

AVRELIVS.

For otherwyle thyng to put away
the payne, thou shalt abyde charged
with infamy. I haue written to the this
long epistle, to the intent & thou shouldest
haue some thing to passe the time with.
Certaynly the grettest easement to ease
hym that is in trauayle, is to exercise
the waueryng hert with some good oc-
cupacions. I will wyte no more to the
at this tyme, but as touchyng thy bas-
nishement, trust me I that byng the at
one with the senate. I sende Panatius
my secreтары to the, geue as muche res-
dence to his wooordes, as to my letter.
And he byngeth a gouerne to the. And
therewith my herte and will for to com-
fort the. Salutation peate & good age
be with the, and the pre of the goddis
and of fortune be seperate fro me. I am
my household wife and children salute
the as thyng owne. And we salute al thy
familie as our owne. Though the halfe
of my letter be not of my hand, comfort
the, for my hart is entierly thyn. Thou
knowest how I was greuously hurte
in the warres of Dace in my hand, and
in moyste wethers one of my fingers
slepeth. Thus I make an ende as al-
waies thyng owne.

An

MARCVS

In other letter sent by Asache them-
perour to the same Antigonus
agaynst cruell Judges.

The leuenth letter.



Ask the sicke man, to the
Antigonus banished, de-
sired salute for hym, and
reste for the. To eschewe
the enuious traualles of
Rome, and to see certayn
bookes of Behme, that were broughte
to me fro Belsa, I came hither to Sa-
nia: I made great hast in my tourneys
howe be it at Salon the feuer toke me:
the xx. daye of Iune I receiued thy le-
cond letter, & the same houre the feuer
quartern toke me. I thynke none of us
both had the better hande. For neither
my longe letter dyd put awaye thy tra-
uaille, nor thy short letter did put awaye
mye feuer. And though as nowe the fer-
tyng of thy traualle miniseth that I
had, the more henneth the desyre to re-
medye the. Therefore I will saie some
thyng to the, but not that I fynde any
consolacion that thou haddest therof.
In the lame of Rhodes I haue founde
these woozdes: We commaunde, that
none

AVRELIVS

none be so hardy to give counsaile with-
out remedy: for the wordes to him that
is in trouble geueth small consolacion,
whan there is no remedy. Also the best
that is in sorow, hath more reffe che-
rying his owne greues, than heyring
the consolacion of other. Thou saiest in
thy letter, that the censures are righte
rigorous in that realme: and therefore
all that nation hath pll wille with the
senate. I beleue well, they haue good
occasion therof: for dishonoured men
make the ministers of iustice to be re-
gorous, and namely they of that ple.
for there is an ancient ploverbe, that
saierh, Lightly all these ples are pll,
and the Scythians worst of all. Nowe
aduaies the pll are myghty in theyr pla-
nes and the good with theyr vertues ar-
hept so close, that if there be not some
bydell by iustice, the pll shuld possesse
all the worlde, and the good shulde fy-
nythe shortly. But synasth to consyder
how vnable we be borne, and are ena-
rouned with so many ples, being sub-
iecte to so many miseries. I meane
not of the humanities that the humane
people committeth: but I am ashamed
of the cruel sentence that our Censu-

M A R C V S

res do, not as Romayns, but as cruell
tyrantes. Of one thyng I am sore abash-
shed, and greatly it troubleth my witt-
tes, seying naturally and of ryght, the
iustice of the goddis is good, & we of-
fendyng theim, and that haue Iustyce
but lent to vs, yet we glorify vs to bee
cruel: so that the goddis do pardon in-
iuries done to theim, whereby some of
mekenesse abideth to theim, and we cha-
stise the iniuries of other, whereby we
wyn the fame of tyrantes. In good sothe
there is no mā among men, nor humain
amonge the humains, but he is a brute
beast, and wylde among wylde beastes,
that nameth him self to be of the fleshe,
and hath no pitte to hurte other fleshe:
Nor consydeyeth not, that the goddis
hath made him a meke beast and lowly
by nature, and he becometh a fiers ser-
pente by malice. In the. xii. yere of the
fundacion of Rome, Romulus the first
kyng, sent a cōmandement into all pla-
ces and realmes nigh to hym: as to the
Volgues, Samites, and Ausiens, to
Capue, Tarentis, and Albanis: to the
entent that all suche as were banished
troubled and persecuted in theyr real-
mes, shoulde come to Rome, and there
they

AVRELIVS.

that shuld be receiued and well entrea-
sed: and excepte the histories lye, Rome
was more inhabited in ten yeres, than
Babylon or Carthage in a. C. yeres. O
glorious herit of Romulus, that such a
thyng inuented, and glorious tong that
such a thyng comanded: and glorious
was the cite or countrey, that founded
them vpon such mercy and pitie. I haue
founded dyuers letters of dyuers real-
mes of the orient, sent forth, mencio-
nyng thus, We the kyng of Parthes in
Asie, to the conscript fathers of Rome,
and to the happy people of Italy, and
vnto all theym of that empyre, hauyng
the name of Romaynes, and surname
of clemency, Salutation to your per-
sones, We sende peace and tranquillite
to you, as we demande the same of
the goddis.

Thus than regarde, what glorious
title of clemency our predecessours Ro-
maynes had: and what example of cle-
mency they haue left for all emperours
to come. Take this for certayne, that
the Censures or mynisters of Justice,
forgettynge the pitie of the Romaynes
shall bee reputed cruelle, as Sathani-
us: Nor Rome shall not repute theym

as

as bet natural children, but as cruel
enemies: and not for augmentours
of the common welch, but infamous
and robbers of clemency.

¶ When I was of the age of. xxxv.
yere, beyng in the yle of Crete, nowe
called Cypres, in wynter tyme, there
was a mountayne called Archadio,
wherupon foure pillars were sette, and
a sepulchre of a kyng of worthy fame,
and in his lyfe pitteful and full of mer-
cy: and as one shewed me, there were
certayne wordes written in greke let-
ters rounde about the sepulchre sayng
thus: I haue taken to me alwayes this
counsaile, to bere as I myght dooe but
hitte all good, I neuer dydde harme, and
that that I myght haue with peace, I
neuer stroue for: Suche as I myght o-
uercome with prayer, I neuer feared
with threthynge. Where as I myght
remedy secretly, I dyd neuer chastise
openly: therin that I myght correcte
with warnynge, I neuer hurted with
beatynge: Suche as I chastised open-
ly, I dyd aduertised secretly: and so-
nally I neuer chastised one, but I for-
gaue foure. I am ryght sorowfull be-
cause that I haue chastised: and am
glad

AVRELIVS.

glad because that I pardoned. In as
muche as I was borne as a man, my
fleshe is here eaten with wormes: and
because I haue lyued vertuously in my
lyfe, my spirite shall nowe reste with
the goddis.

Howe thinkest thou my frende Anti-
gonus, what an epitaphie was this:
And howe glorious was his lyfe, sithe
the memory of hym vnto this daie ab-
herh so immortall: And as the goddis
maie helpe me in all goodnesse, and de-
fende me fro yll, I haue not so great de-
lite at Pompeie with his scowp, nor at
Gaius Iulius Cesar with his Gaules
of France, nor at Scipio with his Af-
ricans, as I haue at the kynge of Cy-
res with his sepulchre. For that kyng
hath more glory in that mountayne be-
ing deade, than all the other had in al
theyr lyues, with all theyr triumphes,
that euer they had in Rome. I saie not,
but that the wychednes of ylle people
should be chastised: for without com-
parison, he is worse that fauoureth the
yll, than he that committeth the yll: for
the one procedeth of weakenesse: and
the other of malice. But it seemeth to
me, and to all other that be wyse, that

Th

as

M A R C V S

as the synne is naturall, and the cha-
 ritablemente voluntary: so oughte the ri-
 goure of iustice to be temperate, so that
 the ministers should shewe compassion
 rather than vengeance: whereby the tre-
 spassours shuld haue occasion to amend
 theyr synne passed, and not to reuenge
 the iniury present. ¶ What places and
 realmes haue been losse, not for the pla-
 nesse that the yll people hath commit-
 ted, but rather by the disordinate ius-
 tice, that the ministers of iustice haue
 exercised? I thinke by theyr rigour
 to correcte the damages passed, where-
 by hath rylen sclauanders and steyse, ne-
 uer none suche harde of afore. Whan a
 pynce sendeth any personne with the
 charge of iustice, he ought to say to him
 these woordes, whyche Auguste Cesar
 sayd to the gouernour of Britte: I put
 not the confidence of myne honour into
 thy handes, nor committe to the my ius-
 tice, to be a destroyer of innocentes, nor
 an executioner of sinners, but that with
 one hande thou shuldest helpe the good
 to maynteyn them therein, and with the
 other hande to helpe to reyse them that
 be yll from theyr noughtrynes. And myne
 entencion is to send the forth to be a pre-
 cep

A V R E L I V S.

protour of orphans, and an aduocat for
widowes, a surgio for al worldes, a flasse
for the blynde, a father to every person,
to speake fayre to myne enemies, and
to receiue my frendes. In this maner I
holde thou shaldest vse thy selfe in euery
place, so that by the same of pitiful
wille, suche as bee myne shall be in rest
and content to be myn subiects; and that
strangers shal be desirous to come and
to serue me.

This instruction Augustus Cesar gaue
to a gouernour of his, bycause it was
demanded hym, that he was somewhat cruell
in that realme. Certaynly they were
good wordes, but they be right compen-
sations. And wold to god they were wor-
th in the hearts of our iuges. Thou wyl-
test how that yle is sore troubled by rea-
son of the censures and iudges thereof.
It is a noysfull reauayle to receiue the
auctoritie of iustice into the hand of an
unjuste man: and it is a chynge not to
be suffered, that one with tyranny shuld
reauynge dyuers other: not with the
life, but with the auctoritie to correcte
good men, therby to be called a good ce-
sar. The auctoritie of his office geuen
to him by his prince ought to be his ac-

By ii

ces-

MARCVS

cellarie, and his good lyfe for princis
pall: in such maner, that by the retri-
bute of his iustice, the yll shuld fele the
execucion therof. All that haue aucto-
ritie shuld tempze it with wisdom and
puresnes of lyuyng. It is a great good-
nes to the cōmon welth, and great con-
fusion to hym that is chastysed with
peyne, whan the miserable that is cha-
stised, seeth nothyng in hym that cha-
stiseth, wherby he hath deserued to be
chastised. And contrarie, it is greate
slackenes in a prince to commande, and
great shame to the common welthe to
consent, and greate inconuenience and
reprofe to the iudge to execute: whan
poore wretche for a small faute is put to
more payne for the same smalle faute
doen in mēd aie, than is gyven to them
that be great for many synnys, that
they haue comytted durynge theyr life.
These be they that peruerste the cōmon
welth, and sclander the world, and put
them selfe out of auctoritie.

In the .lii. yere that grete Pompey
toke Asia, the whiche is now Ierusa-
lem, the same tyme beynge there Vale-
rius Gracchus, thither came a Debut
or a Jewe, as the annales shew, to com-
playn

AVRELIVS.

plainte to the senate of the wronges and
griues that were dooen to hym in that
iourne, and so in dooing his errande in
the name of all that prouince, he sayed
these wordes, O fathers conscript. O
happy people, your fatal bestenies per
mitte, and our god leaue vs with Jer
usalem, lady of all Asie, and mother
to the Hebues to be in seruage of Rome
and to the Romaines, certainly greate
was the power of Pompeie, and moche
more the force of his army to take vs
But therefore I saie, that greater was
the pre of our god, & without compari
son the multitud of our synnes, wherby
he did write to be lost. I wold ye knew
methyng, and it soore displeased me,
that ye Romains haue not proued it by
experience, That is, our god is so iust,
that yf among vs there had ben. x. iust
men, and among. l. M. yll, one good,
he wold haue pardoned all the yll: And
than ye Romayns should haue sene
as the Egypetians dyd, how our god as
lone maie do muche more than all your
goddis togither. And certainly as long
as we be synners, so longe ye shall bee
our lordes. And as longe as the pre of
the Hebues god doth endure, so longe

Th. iiii.

shall

M A R C V S

What the power of the Romans last. And
because in this case I folowe one way,
and by your sect ye folow another way,
ye can not returne to honour one god on
ly, nor I to honour dyuers goddis. I
will leaue this matter to the god, by
whose power we haue ben nourished, and
by whose bountie we be governed, and
returne to the case of our ambassade.
Ye know what peace hath ben betwene
Rome and Iudee, and betwene Iudet
and Rome, we with you, and ye with
vs. In all thynges we haue obeyd you,
and ye vs. No iuste thyng we haue de
nied you. And because there is nothyng
more despyed of the people, and lesse put
in operacion than is peace, and there is
nothyng more abhorred, by the whiche
abhorrynge euery man lyueth, than is
warre: I do warne you of this with
truth, prouide therfore iustice, put them
awaie that folowe your wylles to doo
vs yll. And let vs haue no suche malici
ous folke, as intyce vs to rebell. The
greatest sygne and strongest pyller of
peace is to put awaie the perturbetors of
peace. What profyete is to say peace,
peace, and in secreete to sale warre warre?
I saie this because ye haue banysht

the

A V R E L I V S.

the eldest sonne of kyng Idumeo out of
 Lyon for his demerites, and ye haue
 sent in his stede Campanius, Marcus,
 Iustus, and Valerius Gracchus for pre-
 sidentes. They bee four plagues, or ill-
 pestilences, so that the lease of theyn
 were sufficient to enpoison the hole em-
 pire of Rome, than muche sooner our
 miserable realme of Palestine. What
 thyng can be more monstrous, than that
 the iudges of Rome shoulde sende men
 to put a waile yf customes fro them that
 be yll, and they them selues are the in-
 ventours of newe vices? What great-
 er shame & inconuenience is in iustyce,
 than they that haue auctoritie to cha-
 rge wanton yowthe, to glorifie theyn
 selfe to be capitayns of them that be
 wyld? What greater infamy can be
 in Rome, than thei that ought to be ver-
 tuous and iuste, to geue example to o-
 ther to be yll and vicious? I lye if they
 haue not so wythen and enlarged the
 disciplyne of Iustyce, that they haue
 taught the youth of Iudee suche vices,
 that haue not been harde of by our fa-
 ders, nor red in no booke, nor sene in our
 tyme. O Romas beleue me in one thyng
 what counsailes Iudee hath taken

By this

of

MARCVS

of Rome at this houre, let Rome take
 Judee. Many realmes are gotten with
 mighty capitayns, and muche sheddyng
 of bloude, and ought to bee observed
 with a good iudge, not in sheddyng of
 bloud, but in gettyng of herres. Certen-
 ly the iudge that winneth no good wil-
 les than money, ought to bee beloued,
 and he that serueth for money, and los-
 seth the good willes, for euer ought to
 be abhorred as pestilence. What thynk
 ye is the cause now adates, that your
 presidentes be not obeyd in a iust cause?
 Of a trouthe it is bycause, that fynde
 they commaunde vniuste thynges. The
 commandementes that be iust, maketh
 softe and meke herres, and suche as be
 vniust, maketh men cruell. We bee soo
 myserable in all miseries, that to hym
 that commaundeth well, we obey yll:
 and the more yll they commaunde, the
 more obeyd wolde they be. Beleue me
 in one thyng, that of the great lightnes
 and smalle sadnesse of the Judges, is
 bredde littell feare and greatte shame
 in the subiectes. Wee that bee Iewes
 thynke our selfe well aduertised by the
 mouthe of our god that saith: Euery
 prynce commyttynge charge of iustice

AVRELIVS.

to hym that he seeth vnable to execute
the same, or dothe not principally for
Iustyce sake accomplishe Iustyce, but
dothe it for his owne profite, or els to
please the partie thynke surely, when
the prince doothe not regarde this, by
some way that he thynketh least of, he
shall see his honour infamed, his cre-
dence lost, his good minished, and some
great chastisement come to his house.
And bycause I haue other thynges to
saie in secreete, I wyll conclude as now
openly. I finally I saie, if ye wyll con-
serue your realme longe tyme, for the
whiche ye haue put your selfe in great
perylls, kepe and maintaine Iustice,
and we shall beare you reuerence: Com-
maunde as Romayns, and we shall o-
bey as Hebrewes: Byue vs a president,
that is merciful, and all our realme
shal be obedient: Be not so cruel to cha-
stise our mekenes, and we shall be the
more obedient to your preeminence: I
requite you desyre vs or ye commaunde
For in desyring and not commanding,
ye shal fynd loue as fathers to the chil-
drene. And no treason as of lordes to
seruantes. All these thynges saied the
fewe, wherof the senate had great mer-

Hb.v.

uagle.

MARCVS

mayle. And forthwith the senators
 prouyded for iii. iust thynges. The one
 was, that all these wordes shuld be put
 in wrytyng, to the intent that they shuld
 be put in the booke ordeyned to wryte in
 all good saynges of al strange ambas-
 sadours. The seconde, to put downe
 Braccus Valerius, by cause he was so
 cruell, and in hatred with the people.
 The thirde, they prouyded Dilate of
 Lion to bee presidente of that realme.
 Than howe semeth it to the my frende
 Antigonus, dyd not this Hebrew speak
 byghly? O Rome without Rome, that
 of Rome holdeth nothyng but the wal-
 les, and arte fallen into vnbzyssty by-
 ces. What dyddest thou when suche a
 shame was layde to the by an Hebrew
 in the myddes of the senate? Certain-
 ly the greatest plage among al plages,
 and the greatest losse among all losses,
 is when the prince hathe his lyfe soo
 without lyfe, his iustyce soo without
 iustice, his dedes so without dedes, and
 in all euyl so bolde and hardy, and in
 all goodnes such a coward, that right-
 wysely his owne men doo accuse hym,
 and strangers repreneue hym, none doeth
 loue him, but al hate him, & his frendes
 will

A V R E L I V S

will not helpe hym, and his ennemtes
will persecute hym: They that be pre-
sent, refuse his goodnes, and they that
be absent, procure his yll: thei that liue
take awaie his lyfe, and the deade his
sepulchre. Nowe to retorne to the pur-
pose of our iuges: I prae the Antigon-
us, shewe me thy mynde, wherof com-
meth nowe adales the great sclaundre
of the people, the insampe of the prince,
and the peryll in iustyce: If thou know-
weste it not, harken and I shall shewe
the, wherby all gath out of order. Thei
that be pryue are so importunate, and
the princis not refusyng them: they be-
gplyng and be sufferyng to be begyled:
The one with couetpse, and the other
with ignorance, dothe gyue to suche,
that he shuld take fro, and take awaie
fro suche as he shoulde gyue vnto, and
honoureth theim that dishonoureth
hym, kepeth the ryghtwise in pryson,
and belyuereth the vicious, dispiseth
experte persones, and trusteth theim
that be leude: and finally they provide
not offices to men, but men to offyces.
They ordeyne the vnluste to mynister
iustice, and do iniurie to theim that be
iust: yet here and I shal shew the more:
These

These miserables after that thei be appointed and set in thei offices, wher of they be nothyng woorthy, more for theyr auctoritie than for merite of thei persons, they are feared with theyr extreme iustice. They take on theym the state of great men with the sweate and labour of poore men: They supply with malice that they wante of discrecion: And worst of all, they measure thei worth of other men with theyr owne propriety. Yet hearken and I shall saye more. After that these ideotes se thei selfe in the gulfes of these bayne suspynesses, that they lacke the reyn of knowledge, and the sailes of wisdom, and the anchors of experience, noy can not remedy a final matter, but innēt other more greatter alterpyge and troublpyge the peace for theyr owne particular welth. They wepe for thei owne harme, and no lesse for the welth of other, and finally leese thei selues. And therefore they adventure thei selfe into the gulfes, and inflame thei lordes that haue geuen them suche offices, to geue them to suche as haue deserued thei. Thou mayst know, that the begynnyng of the is pryde and ambition, and thei middle

AVRELIVS.

is enuy & malice, & thep: end is death &
distruction. And if my counsell were ta
ken, suche shuld haue no credence with
princis or gouernours, but as slandered
men to be separate, not all onelp fro the
comon welth, but fro thep: lynes. Sure
ly great is the concourse of them that be
shamelesse, which about shame demaie
offices of the senare or princis, but it is
a more boldnesse of malice for thep: in
tis to gyue them. In this and in the o
ther thynges these are soo damnable,
that neither the feare of the goddis do
eth withdraue them, nor the pynce
dothe not restrayne them, nor vengeance
doth not fet them, nor the comon welth
dothe not accuse them, and aboue all o
ther, reason dothe not command them,
nor the lawe subdunt them.

¶ My freende Antigonus, note this
woorde that I wyte in the ende of my
letter. In the yere of the foundation of
Rome M. C. xlii, the Romans as than
in the worlde hadde dyuers warres, as
Gaius Celsus against them of Trece,
and Gneo Cordon his brother agaynst
Sardine, Junius Sylla agaynst the
Mabies, Gaius Marius agaynst
the Macedonians, Gaius Sulpio a
gaynst

gaigne the Lusitayns, and Marius
 consail agaynst Jugurtha kyng of the
 Numidians. It befell soo, that Boc-
 chus kyng of Mauritanie fauoured Jugur-
 tha, and vppon them triumphed Mari-
 us, and they laded with chaynes were
 led afore his chariot, not without great
 compassion of them that sawe it. After
 this triumphe doone, incontinēt the
 same date by counsell of the senate, Ju-
 gurtha was beheaded in prison, and
 his companion Bocus had pardon of
 his lyfe, and the cause was, It was a
 custome none to bee put to iustice, but
 fyrst the auncient booke shoulde be ser-
 ched, to see if any of his predecessors
 had done before any scrupel to Rome,
 whereby the captiue shoulde merite to
 haue pardone of his lyfe: and than it
 was founde, that the graundfather of
 Bocus came to Rome and made great
 oracions before the senate, by whose
 wordes and sentences, his said nephew
 merited to haue pardon of his life: and
 among other of his saynges, he reher-
 sed these verses that said: what is that
 realme, where is no good among the ill,
 nor ill among the good: what is that
 realme, that hath these houses full of
 good

A V R E L I V S.

good simple persons, and banytheth a-
waite all wisdom: Or what is that re-
alme, that suche as be good are cowar-
des, and the yll hardie: or what is the
realme, where all peassible are displea-
sed, and the sedicious praysed: What
is that realme that sleethe them that
holde their welch, and are angry with
them that wold helpe their pl: or what
is that realme, that pmitted the proude
poore folkes, and the tyrche tyantes: or
what is that realme, where they all
know the euill, and none procureth a-
ny goodnes: or what is that realme,
where such vices are openly comitted,
that other realmes feare to do secretly:
or what is þ realme, where as all that
they desyre they procure, and all that
they do procure, they attaine, & al that is
at they thinke, & al that they thinke they
say, & all that they say they may do, and
all þ they maye do, they dare do, and put
in operaciō that they dare do: & worst of
all these is none so good to respit it: In
such a realme there shuld be none inha-
bitante: For wthyn short space the yll
men shalbe chaunged, or els dispeopled
of good mē, or the goddis wil confound
them, or the tyrantis shall take them.

Dyuers

Dyuers thynges were saied, the whiche I passe ouer at this tyme. Some thyneketh thou Antigone? I sweare by the immortall goddis, that my herte breaketh to thinke of the great shame that was layde vpon Rome by suche wyltynge as was lefte to them by the grauntefather of this kynge Boeus. This my letter I woulde thou shouldest receiue in secreete, to the pretours, and if they amend not, we shall finde the meanes to chastyse them openly. And as touching thy banishment I promise the to be thy good frende to the senate, that we make ioye out auncient amitie togyther. And to geete the out of that ylle, certainly I shall do my diligence. I haue written to my secretaie Demetrius to helpe the. I. I. secretaie to releue thy povertee: and thus I send the my letter to comfort thy heuy herte. I saye noo more, but the goddis giue the content: acif of that thou wouldest haue ioy, and reste in thy persone. And all corporall euyls, cruel enemyes, and fatal destinyes be seperate from me Marke. For the behalte of my wyfe Faustine, I salute the, and thy wyse sonne: He is thin, and I am thyn. With distrac-
on

AVRELIVS

as of ioye I haue receiued thy letter,
and thankefully I sende the myne. I
shall not rest to desire to se thy person
in Italy, and there in Sicyle to leue my
fuer quarteene.

A letter sent by Marcus to Lambert
gouverneur of the yle of Belespont, to
whan he dyd banishe the vac-
bundis fro Rome.

The .xi. letter.



Arch emperor of Rome,
lorde of Asia, confederat
with theym of Europe,
frend of them of Affric,
ennemye of the Maures:
To the Lamberte gover-

neur of the yle of Belespont, sendeth
at his parte contentacion and surtee
fro the sarrase senare. I am furred
with the fures that thou hast sent me,
and am clothed with thy mantel, and
am ryght well pleased with thy gree-
boundes: If I had thought, that thy
absence fro Rome shuld haue procured
so muche fropt in that yle: long ago I
shuld haue determynd as well for thy
hospite as for my scrupce. I sent to the

MARCVS

in demaundaynge but small thynges in
my spozte, and thou haste sent me many
thynges in earnest. In good sothe thou
haste better proporcioned thy letyce
with noblenes, than I to commaunde
with my couetyse. For yf thou remem-
ber, I sent to the for a dosepne skynnes
of furre, and thou haste sent me. xii. do-
sepne: and I byd sende but for. vi. greis
hundes, and thou hast sent me. xii. Tru-
ly in this case my pleasure is double.
For here in Rome thy great largesse is
publyshed, and my smal couetyse there
in Helesponte. And by cause I am sure
thou hast great thankses of me, I pray
to god to send the salate and helth: and
that fortune be not denied the at a good
houre. I sende the. iiii. barkes of mat-
ter soles, and yet I haue not sent the
all. For if I had banysed all the so-
les in Rome, we shuld haue peopled be
with a newe people. These mayster so-
les haue ben so willy to teache foly, and
the Romaine youth soo apte to learne,
though thei be but in. iiii. barkes, thei
disciples wold fade. iiii. c. Carrakes. I
haue great interuall of one thyng, and
my hart sclaundreth the goddis: for I
se well that erthquakes casteth downe
houses,

AVRELIVS.

houses, and great waters bereth afloat
 bridges, frostes frefeth the vines, fodein
 thundering & tempestes breketh downe
 trees, scarseine of water causeth derty
 corrupte airc maketh an ende of theim
 that be wyse: and yet there is nothyng
 that can make an end of these folcs. All
 thynges at this daie failerth at Rome,
 exceptt all onely these ydell trewandes,
 gestours, tomlers, placers, or dromslat
 es, tuglers, & such other, of whom there
 is inow and to many. ¶ What a seruice
 shuldest thou do to the gods, and what
 profite to Rome, that for thre barkes
 full of folcs to sende one lade with wise
 men: One thyng I wyll saie, that with
 the bones of the wyse men that yle is
 halowed, that aunciently were banys
 shed by the malycie & enuye of theim of
 Rome: if thy smelling wits be not lost,
 as yealy stinketh of the that be simple,
 so that ile smellerth swete of wise men.
 Whan I came fro the wars of the war
 res, .p. iiii. yere of mine empire, I passed
 into that yle by dyners sees to see the
 sepulchres of auncient wyse men: and
 in the cite of Dorbite in the myddes
 therof, lieth Dapde, that was banished
 by August: and vnder the mountayne

Li.ii.

Arpines

MARCVS

Arplines is the sepulchre of the renou-
med Armeno orator, banished by Sili-
la : at the porte of organant thou shalt
fynde the bones of Collitodorus recap-
tuler of the antique lawes, that was be-
nyshed by Nero the cruell : and in the
felde of Glinos, vnder a marble, is the
pouder of Syllio Seteno that was so
well learned in the . diu. artes liberall,
as though he had newe founde them. he
was banished by the Marrians . I saie
for trouthe thou shalt fynde it thus,
for with my knees I haue touched these
sepulchres. And all that season my te-
der eyes were as full of water, as their
bones were harde in the erthe . These
were not banished for no villanyes that
they had done : but it was the merite
of our forefathers, that they wolde be
pyparated fro the company of so noble
barons : and we their children fro the
pouder of soo renowned sages . I can
not tell whiche is the greater, the san-
tasye that I haue to thynke vpon, or the
compassion of miserable wome . I doo
praise the as my frende, and commaund
the as my seruant, to regarde the pla-
ces that I haue shewed the . For it is a
iuste thyng, and mooste iuste, that such
cities

AVRELIVS.

cities bee privileged by them that ly-
 eth, when they are peopled with such
 heade wyse men. And more ouer, Cen-
 cion knoweth by woordes, the heuy
 case, that these prysoners had with vs,
 and we with them, the day of the feast
 of mother Berecinethia. I saie, I sawe
 not that day so much crueltie in Rome,
 as we caused infamy throughe all the
 Emppre. Rome that neuer was over-
 come, by them that were valiaunt and
 vertuous, that day we sawe overgone,
 and troden vnder foote, by those foles.
 The walles of Rome, that were neuer
 touched by the Poeniens had that day
 theyr towres ful of armed trefwandes;
 Rome that triumphed ouer all real-
 mes, was triumphed vppon that day,
 with tombles and iuglers. I am so as-
 dished in this case, that I wotte not
 what to saie or to write. Yet one thyng
 comforteth me, that sith Rome and the
 Romans vniuersely dooe reioyce with
 these foles: she and the famous wyse
 men, iustly shalbe chastised for these fo-
 les. And in this the goddis shal not be
 displeased, that sith Rome laugheth at
 these trefwandies and mockeries, one
 day she shal wepe with these tombles

Al. lii.

and

M A R C V S

and iuglers. I banyshe all these for
euer fro Rome, not for the bloudde that
they haue shedde but for the heresie,
that they haue peruerthed: not for the oc-
casion of any that be deed, but because
they were maisters of folies. Without
comparison it is greater offence to the
goddis, and more damage to the com-
mon welthe, these frewandes to take a-
waie the wittes fro the wise folkes, than
the muttherers to take awaie mens li-
ues. If the greatest gift, among al gif-
tes of fortune, be, to kepe a good wit, let
no man presume, to be of a restful under-
standyng, that is an extreme frende to
these frewandes. Beleue me one thyng.
As one byrde loueth an other, and one
beste an other, and one wise man an o-
ther: so one foole loueth an other foole.
¶ Remembre, on a dai, as I reuolued
the registers in the Capitol, I redde a
ryght meruailous thyng of Quertus
a famous oratour, whiche is buried in
the ile of Belespont, on the mounte So-
ramantine. Whan great Scipio came
fro the warre of the Poemiens, better
accompanied with hunger then with
frewandes, than with valiant capitaines,
he saied to hym: Of trouthe it is great
hame

AVRELIYS.

came to the, and a small honour to the
 mate, that thou, that haste overcome
 the wyle Affres, and being so wyle thy
 wife, and of the bloude of the wise Ro-
 manes, wilt bee accompanied with
 these trewandes and fooles. In that
 unhappy realme, al the wise men could
 not overcome one, that was thought
 stronghly, amonge so many fooles. I
 let to the, that thy wit is in more perill
 here in Rome, than thy lyfe in Affrike.
 These were good wordes and not of
 no wordely malyce. And within a short
 while after, and by dyuers lyght per-
 sons, and for a smal occasion this poore
 elde oratour, and ryche philosopher, by
 the frendes of Scipio, was banished
 Rome, and sent into that yle.
 Thā behold Lambert, let vs retorne
 to these turglers & trewands. Whā they
 are landed in that ile, let them go frank
 and fre, so that they vse not their accu-
 stomed tois. Thou shalt constrain the
 labour, and chastise them yf thei bee
 idle. For these miserable folke, sleping
 some in the trauaile, take on them in-
 industry, and conuert women with
 theyr trewandys, than yf open schoo-
 les of vacaboundes were kepte

Al. lili.

There

There is nothing that our forefathers
 did that displeaseth me so much, as the suf-
 ferance of these vnthyftry frewandes.
 ¶ On the yere LXXvi. of the foundaci-
 on of Rome, in the tyme of an horryble
 pestilence in Italy, to reioyes the peo-
 ple, was tyll found out the inuencion
 of Theatres, by the aduise of the fre-
 wandes. It is a shamefull thing to here,
 that the pestilence duryd but two ye-
 res, and the rage of these vnthyftries,
 dureth full .L. yeres.
 ¶ Lamberte, I beleue well, that the
 complaintes, that these prisoners haue
 begon here, shall neuer haue an ende
 there. Howe be it, I care not: for the
 grudge of them, that be it, iustifieth the
 iustice and sentence of the, that be good.
 As the maister of Piero saied: As much
 as the shame of synne oughte to be fled
 of theim, that bee good, soo muche
 praisse, is the infamye of the ylle. I
 shall tell the one thyng, to the intent,
 that the chastisement shulde not seme
 cruell to the. Seyng the emperours of
 Rome are ful of clemency to strangers,
 it is no reason, that thei shoulde bee soo
 shewe to their owne. Sith fatal desti-
 nies hath brought me into this world,

AVRELIVS.

I haue sene nothyng more vnprofitable
to the common welthe, nor greater fo-
ly in them, that be lyght of condicions,
nor a worse inuencion for vacabundes
nor a more colde reuocation of mortall
folke, than to learne of these gamners
and trisellers, and suche other iuglers.
What thyng is more monstous, than
to see wyse men reioyce at the pastyme
of these vayne trisellers? What greater
mockery can be in the capitol, than the
foolyshe saying of a gesser, to be praised
with great laughter of wyse men: what
greater schauanders can bee to priuies
houses, than to haue theyr gates alway
open to receiue in these fooles, and ne-
uer open to wyse folkes? What great-
er crueltie can there be in any person,
than to geue more in one daie to a foole
than to his seruantes in a yere, or to his
hyn, all his lyfe? what greater incon-
fancie can there be, than to want men
to turne the garrisons and frontiers
of Illirico, and these trewandes to a-
hyde at Rome? What lyke shame can
there be to Rome, than that the memo-
ry shall be lesse more in Italy, of these
rumbles, trewandes, pappers, spngers
of gesses, tabouers, crouders, daun-

Si v

cers

M A R C V S

ceers, mummers, gesters, & jugglers, the
the renome of capitayns, with theyr tri-
umphes and armes. And whā these ca-
tifes wandred al about in Rome in safe-
tie, sounyng theyr leadneste, and garbe-
ryng of money: the noble barons and ca-
pitayns, went fro realme to realme, wa-
sting theyr money, aduenturynge theyr
lyues, and wedyng theyr blonde.

In the vttermostte parte of Spayne,
whā warre began betwene the Libe-
riens and Goditaynes, and theyr of Li-
berie lacked money: Two jugglers and
labourers, offred to maynteine the war-
a holle pere. And it folowed, that with
the goodes of two fooles, many wyse
men were slayne and overcome.

In Epheze, a cite of Asia, the famous
temple of Diana was edified with the
confiscacion of the goodes, of suche a
tremande and foole.

Whā Cadmus edified the cite of
Thebes in Egypte, with .i. gates, the
mynstrelles gaue hym more toward it,
than all his frendes.

Ef the history be true, whā Auguste
edified the walles of Rome, he hadde
more of the truandes, that wer drowned
in Tyber, than of the common trefour.

AVRELIVS. 11

The firste kyng of Corinth arose by
these villayns, I sawe his sepulchre at
Corinthie. And as I sawe of these small
mumble, I myghte saye of many other.
Beholde than Lambert, how little care
the goddis take, and how variable the
case of fortune is, and howe the dedes
of men falle. Some be had in memoire
for theyr folie, and some for theyr wyse-
dome. One thyng is come to my mynde
of the chaunce of these trewardes, and
that is, while they bee in plesence, they
make every man to laughe at the folles
that they doo and saye, and whan they
be gone, every man is sorie for his mis-
doo, that they were awaie. And of trou-
ble, it is a iuste sentence of the goddis,
that suche as haue taken vayne pleasure
together, whan they are departed, to
sorre for theyr losses. I will wyte no
more vnto the: but I doo sende the this
letter in Breke, to the entent that thou
shewe it ouer all the Ile. Sende forth
with the shippes agayne, for they must be
sent forth with the provisions into Illi-
rico. Peace be with the Lambert, helth
e good fortune bee with me agane. The
senate saluteth the. And thou on my be-
halfe, shalt shewe to the ple, the sorfull
hap.

happy customes. My wife Faustine saluted the, and sendeth a ryche gyddell to thy doughter. And in recompence of the furre, I sende the ryche lettelles.

A letter sent by Mark the emperor to Catulus his speciall frende, of the nouelties of Rome.

The. xiii. letter.

M Arcus the newe Censure, to the Catulus the olde Censure. It is ten daies past, that in the temple of god Iouis, I receyued thy letters and I take the same god to wytnesse, that I had rather haue seene thy person. Thou wyrttest, howe my writing is long, but the shortnesse of tyme maketh me to aunswere the more briesfly, far auaile more than I wold. Thou bespreest me, to gyue the knowledge of the newes here. Thereto I aunswere, that it were better to demaunde, yf there be any thyng abyden here in Rome or Italy, that is olde. For nowe by our heuyn desenties, all that is good, and olde is ended, and newe thynges that be yll and detestable, we maie see daily. The emperor, the Consul, the Tribune, the
Se.

AVRELIVS.

Senatours, the Ediles, the Flamines,
the Pretours, the Centurions, all these
thynges, bee newe, but the villanyes,
that been olde, and all passeth to make
newe offyces, and to ordeyne statutes &
practikes, to come to come to the coun-
cels, and to reple by subsidies. In su-
che wyse, that there hath been now mo
novelties within these. iiii. yeres, than
in tyme passed in. iiii. C. yeres. We now
assemble together a. iiii. C. to counsell in
the capitol: and there we blason & boote,
swear & promyse, that som of vs maie
subdue and put vnder ather, to fauour
one, & distroy an other, other to chastise
the yll, and rewarde the good: To re-
payre olde, and edifie newe: To plucke
vices vp by the rootes, and to plant ver-
tues: to amende the olde, and folowe
the good: to reprove tyrantes, and as-
siste the poore: and whan that we are
gone from thense, they that spake beste
woordes, at often taken with the worst
dedes. O heuy Rome, that now adays
hath suche Senatours, that in sayng,
we shall doo, we shall doo, passeth their
lyfe: and than every man, seeking for
his owne profyite, forgetteth the com-
mon wealthe. Oftentymes I am in the
Senate

Senate, to beholde other, as they re-
garde me: and I am abashed to heare
the eloquence of theyr wordes, the zeale
of iustice, and the iustification of theyr
persones: and after that I come thens,
I am ashamed to see theyr secreete ex-
torcions, theyr dampnable thoughtes,
and theyr pll warkes so playnly mani-
fest. And yet there is an other thyng of
more meruaile, and not to bee suffered,
that suche persones, as are mooste defa-
med, and vse most dishonest vires, with
theyr most damnable intencions, make
theyr anowes to doo most cruel iustyce.
It is an ineffable rule, and of humayne
matyee mooste bled, that he that is mooste
hardye to commytte greatestt crymes,
is mooste cruell to gyue sentence agaynst
an other for the same offence. We thinke
that wee regarde our owne crymes, as
thorough smalle nettles, that causeth
thynges to seeme the lesse. And we re-
membze the faultes of other, in the
water, that causeth thynges to seeme
greater than they bee. O howe many
haue I scene condemned to bee hanged
by the senate, for one small faute, done
in all the lyfe, and yet they commytte
the same faute every houre.

AVRELIVS.

I haue redde, that in the tyme of Alexander the greate, there was a renowned pyrate byrrouer on the sea, whiche robbed and dyuined all shippes, that he coulde gette : and by commaundement of this good kyng Alexander, there was an armye sente forth to take hym. And whan he was taken, and presented to Alexander, the kyng sayde to hym : Shewe me Dionides, why dost thou keepe the sea in daungier, that no shippe can sayle out of the east into the west, for the : The pyrate answered, and sayde : If I keepe the sea in daunger, why dost thou Alexander, keepe all the sea and lande as loste ? Alexander, bycause I fyghte with one shippe in the sea, I am called a thefe, and bycause thou robbest with two hundred shippes on the sea, and troublest all the worlde with. ii. hundred thousand men, thou arte called an Emperour. I sweare to the Alexander, if fortune were as fauourable to me, and the goddis as extreme agaynste the : they shoulde geue me thynne Emppire, and geue the my lyttell shippe, and than peraduenture I shoulde bee a better kyng than thou art, and thou a worse thefe

these than I am.

¶ These were hygh wordes, and well receyued of Alexander: and of trouth, to seyf his wordes were correspondent to his promyses, he made hym from a pyrate to a great capitaine of an army, and he was more vertuous on lande, than he was cruell on the see.

¶ In promyse the Catulus, Alexander dyd ryght well thetein, and Dionides was to be praysed greatly, for that he had saied. Now adates in Italy, they that robbe openly, ar called lordes: and they that rob pryuely, ar called theues.

¶ In the yere booke of Linius, I haue red, that in the second troublous warre punike, betwene the Romans and Carthaginense, there came an ambassadour Lusitayn, sent fro Spayne, to treat of accomde of peace. When he came to Rome, he proued before the senate, that syn he entred into Italye, he had been ten tymes robbed of his gooddes, and whyles he was at Rome, he had scene one of theim that robbed hym, hang by an other, that had defended hym. He seyng so yll a dede, and howe the spere was saued without iustice, as a desperate man, toke a cole, and wrote on the gybet

A V E L A V S.

[illegible]

wasted as a chumme. They tell little
 hath been but a shorte paynt, and short
 indurance as a tounge tyll. Finally they
 haue ended the myle, and armed it
 with stoues of entrance, and after a lye
 tell gryndyng, telt it in velle at the hole
 pers after. Whom knowest wel my friend
 Crotulus, that we haue seene Cincius
 saluting in one pers made consule, and
 his children tribunes, and his wyfe a
 martrone for yonge maydens, and be-
 syde that, made keeper of the capitol,
 and after that worin and pers, but the
 same daie we saw Cincius beheaded in
 the place, his children drowned in a fe-
 der, his wyfe banished fro home, his
 house faced downe to the ground, and
 all his good confiscked to the common tre-
 sone. This tragorous example we haue
 narred in any booke to take a topp of
 it, but we haue senet with our eyes
 hepe it in our myndes. As the nations
 of people are varyable, so are the con-
 ditions of men dyuers, and appetites
 of mortall father: and me thinketh this
 is true; saying that some loue, some hate,
 and that that some seke, some esteeme
 weathe: And that that some serreth liueth
 by, other make of. In suche wise, that
 all

2 V 3 4 M
AVRELIVS.

on I can not be content with one thinge,
nor I can not be content with all thinges can not be
satisfied. Lett every man chuse as he
will, and endure the worlde as he
will. I had rather moune a lott pace in
the falling, than if I can not come ther
to, I will abide by the waye, rather
than with care to moune haply,
and than to tumble downe heauily.
In this case sythe menues hartes un
derstande it, we neede not to write fur
ther with penne. And of this matter
regarde not the littell that I doo sale,
but the great deale that I will sale. And
of the I have begun, and am in strange
landes, I will write to all the newes
fro hens. This yere the xxv. daye of
May, there came an ambassadour out
of Arie, saying he was of the yle of Ce
ryn, a baron right elegant of body, rich
hy of aspectte, and ryght hardy of cou
rage. He considered beeyng at Rome,
though the somers days were long, yet
wynter wold drawe on, and than wold
it be daungerous saylyng into his yle,
and sawe that his bespues was not dis
patched: On a daie beeyng at the gate
of the senate, seying all the senatours
curre into the Capitoll, without any

M A R C V S

sermone vpon theiſe, be as a ſon of good
 ſpirit, and ſeraiour of his country, in
 the preſence of vs all, layd theſe matters
 of our fathers conſcript, O Dauidy pray
 for vs. I am come into a ſtrange country
 to ſerue, but to ſerue home, and I haue
 founde home without home.
 The matter whereunto it is inclosed,
 hath not brought me hither, but the
 ſame of theiſe that gouerne it. I am
 not come to ſee the treaſury, wherein
 is the treaſure of all realmes: but I am
 come to ſee the ſacred ſenate, not of the
 ſenators, but the counſell for all men.
 I am not to ſee you, becauſe ye haue
 the all order, but becauſe I thought
 you more beſtimate than all order. I
 haue well ſaid one thyng, excepte the
 goddis make me blind, & trouble myne
 vnderſtanding, ye bee not Romans of
 Rome, nor this is not Rome of the Ro-
 mans poore predecessours. We haue
 heard in our yre, that dyuine realmes
 haue binne by the valiantes of one, and
 conſerued by the myſedome of all the
 ſenate: And at this houre ye are more
 like to be diſſolued, than to forme as
 your fathers wyſe: all ſerpeters
 knowe goodneſſe, and ye that are theiſe

A V R E L I V S.

Cyprian, passe all your time in these
 monies. I hate this, ye Romayns, be-
 cause ye haue almost a lye the with
 laughing at you, to see howe ye doo all
 as muche your diligence to leaue your
 armure without the gate of the senate,
 as your predecessors dyd to take them
 to defende the empyre. What profite is
 it to you, to leaue your armes so; the
 merties of your persons, and put them
 on, wherewith ye see all the worlde
 What profite is it to the thousand
 suiter, that the senator euereth be ar-
 med in to the Senate without sword
 or dagger: And his parte euereth into
 the Senate armed with malice? I haue
 saynes, I wyll ye knowe, that in our
 Ile we holde you not as armed Cap-
 tains, but as malicious senators, not
 with sharpe grounden swerdes & dag-
 gers, but with harde heeles and veno-
 mous tongues ye feare vs. If ye shuld
 in the senate put on harness; and ther-
 with take a way your lyues, it were but
 a smal losse, seing that ye sustein not the
 innocentes, nor dispatche not the busy-
 nesses of suiters. I canne not suffer it.
 I can not telle in what state ye stande
 here at Rome: No; in our Ile we take

MARCYS

arman from fooles, whether your as-
 mours are take away as fro fooles as
 made folles, I wor not. If it be done
 for ambitiousnes, it cometh not of Ro-
 mans, but of tyrantes, that wranglers
 and pretall folke shoulde not be iudges
 over the prealible, and the ambitious
 over the meche, and the malicious
 over the simple. If it be done because
 ye bee fooles, it is not in the lawe of the
 odds, that ill. C. fooles shoulde con-
 crete. ill. C. wise men. It is a loose
 calon that I have sayed for myne an-
 swere and licence, and be your madnes
 I am none farther off, then I was the
 fyfte daye. We buyge oyle, hony, salt,
 iron, wood, and ymber, false, silver,
 and golde out of our lye into Rome, and
 ye wyl that we go elles wher to seek
 iustice. Ye will haue one lawe to gather
 your rentes, and an other to determine
 our iustice, ye will that we paye our tri-
 butes in one date, and ye wyl not dis-
 charge one of our errandes in a wholl
 yere. I requyre you Romans determine
 your selues to take away our lues, and
 so we shall ende: or elles here our com-
 plaints, to thentent that we maie serue
 you. For in an other maner it maie bee

thus ye knowe by hearyng with your e-
 ars, what they saye burne in your hertes
 for with your eyes. And if ye shoulde
 knowe be word of mouth, as I have not
 come by my country. The later not by my
 life. And thus I make an ende. Wherby
 I sende to the seiber the sonnet
 that he shal sende to the senate, which I put
 in writing. And of a word that he hat
 done that the Mayors have knowen to
 have another countrey, the same de
 vout strangers have in stone. Wher
 were that sayd that this ambassadour
 shoulde be satisfied, but thinge hath
 been that for sayinge, such be in my
 face, he shoulde have ben content. He is
 enough and he may be so, in such a
 case, though he sle and perseute such
 that doo us ill and trauaile us at this
 the more want in successe of the world,
 but if the shalward haue his dogge with
 him. And can dogge saye he not to leue
 her byng for to make the shalward
 There is no good human doer, nor laue
 man saileth, nor cometh for the suffer
 much, that they which are committed to
 chastise lyers, shoulde hang them that
 have trauelled. But like the senctours
 spote them selfe men in their lyngs, and

AVERTISSEMENT

Since I have been honoured with the
 name of a poet, I have thought that I should
 have done what I could for the good of
 my country, and for the benefit of
 my fellow-citizens. I have therefore
 endeavoured to do what I could for
 the good of my country, and for the
 benefit of my fellow-citizens. I have
 therefore endeavoured to do what I
 could for the good of my country, and
 for the benefit of my fellow-citizens.

to the thus of other. I tell some what
 speake of my selfe, because of the man-
 des of thy letter. I haue gathered, that
 thou desirest to knowe of my person.
 As touching for certain, that in the ten-
 leues of January, I was made sena-
 tor in the senate, the which office I de-
 sired not, nor I haue not desired it.
 The opinion of all wise men is, that no
 man, without he lacke wyse, or sure
 mouneth in folie, wyl gladly take
 on hym the burden and charges of an
 chymenne. A greater case it is, for a
 shamefast man to take on hym an office
 to please every man, for he muste haue
 a countenance outwarde, contrary to
 that he thynketh inward. Thou wilt
 say, that the good are ordeyned to take
 the charge of offices. I thinke
 thus, that both suppled to take me in
 suche wyse, as to be the best in it. For
 vnyuersall pestilence ought to come for them
 that bee good, sythe I am leaped as
 good amonge the yll. I haue accepted
 this office, not for that I had any need
 thereof, but to satisfyre the desire of
 my wyse father, and to fulfill the
 commandemente of Antonius my
 grandfather. I haue not merited

AVRELIVS.

of any thinge that I do, but of that I
have to bee done. For any man that is
wedded to, I am sure, there is no dy-
ing but he shall doo it, I sweare to the,
that such the dole for were wedded, me
much that I have no wyffe. I leave
wedding for this tyme, and resourne
to speake of offices. Surely a gentle
man ought to bee in offices, though he it
be perfull: for as the offices are situ-
ed amonge them that be vertuous, for
perfuller goeth the vertuous folke
amonge offices. And for the trouble
hereof, reckon what they myne, and
then thou shalt se what they lose. Some
that is good, yf thou knowest it, and
here the ill, yf thou desyre to knowe it,
he that wil take the charge to govern
other, he seeketh thought, and trouble
for him self, enuye for his neighbours,
spouettes for his ennemys, povertee
for his riches, awaking of reuenges, pe-
tyll for his body, an ende of his daies,
and torment for his good renoume. Fi-
nally he seeketh a way to recte his fren-
des, and a repeale to recouer his ene-
mies. In an unhappie man is he, that ta-
keth on hym the charge of children
of many mothers, for he shall be al-
waies

wailes charged with thoughtes, both
 he wolde shewen them all: full offe-
 ghes by cause one hath to geue hym
 seate that one shuld take for hym, we-
 pring if he lese: and suspicion that they
 mislike hym. For that I haue with this,
 without long tarrying ought to set a bil-
 dell at his head: but I faile of one, as
 I faile of an other? For I tolde you,
 and thou wilt not beleeve it, that we shal
 fynde some howe Adales, that had se-
 then been the pake to fight against the
 bulles, than both sette vpon the leaf-
 folde? I haue hard tale.
 So to the I desire to reuue at the
 bulles: god we to chate the vices and
 wylde dooers: and when they come
 they, they denie a wal, not the beastes
 for them, but they see the beastes. In
 such wise as they went running, they re-
 turne againe fleeing: I saie, these ambi-
 cious persones pious to gouerne, and
 are gouerned: they commaund, and are
 commaunded: they rule and are ruled:
 and finally chynnyng to haue byuers
 vnder their handes, these wretches put
 them selues vnder every mans foote.
 For the remedye of all these paynales,
 my thoughte is comforted with one
 thyng

A V R E L I V S.

charge, and that is, without procuring
 or offering my selfe, the senate of their
 owne will hath commaunded me. And
 yett, this, table of our annuall taxes
 is their wordes. And commaunde that
 our sacred senate charge of iudice be
 neuer given to hym that willingly of-
 fers hym selfe to it, but to suche as by
 the deliberation be chosen. This is
 certainly a iust lawe. The men now be
 not so heinous nor so louing to the co-
 mon weith, that they will forget they
 must quietnes and rest, doing damage to
 them selfe, to procure an other mans pro-
 fit. There is none so foolish, that will
 leaue his wife, children, & his owne home
 countrie, to go into strange countreys,
 but if he see him self among strange peo-
 ple, choosing vnder the colour of iudice
 to seke for his owne willfree. I late not
 this without weeping, that the princes
 with their smal stubb and thought, and
 the iuges with theyr coneyte, haue de-
 seruyned and shaken dooune the high
 walles of the policie of Rome. O my
 frende Camillus, what saylste thou that
 I shoulde saie, but that our credence is
 minished, our coneyte is largely stre-
 tched, our hardines too holdeth, our
 names

MARCVS

manifeste to Romeles, that he pro-
 uide for iuges to go and rob our neigh-
 bours as capitaines agaynst our ene-
 mies. I lette the to write, Robertus
 Rome was beloued for chastising the
 pill. name it is an iudice dated for dis-
 posyng of innocents. I do remember
 that I was, in the time of Wences Wy-
 gusau, that ruled al Sicill, there came
 an ambassadour fro Rhodes to Rome,
 being of a good age, well leached, and
 valiant in armes, and right courteous
 to regard eury thinge. He came to
 Rome to see the master of the sacre
 senate: the beight of the bryght capitol
 continued with the Collyse: the mul-
 titude of senators, the wysedome of
 the counsaylours, the gloire of reuine-
 ques, the correction of the pill, the peace
 of the inhabitantes, the dyuersitee of
 factions, the haboundance of the main-
 tenance, the order of the officers, and
 finally seynge that Rome was Rome,
 he was demaunded how he seemed ther-
 by: he answered and said, O Rome in
 this thy present world, thou art full of
 vertues and wyse men, hereafter thou
 shalt be furnished with folke. To what
 bygd and very dygh wordes was there?

Rome

AVRELIUS.

Wants to be of .x. years without neces-
 sity of houses or lodges, and noipe it
 dothe bette. III. .x. years without one
 horse or berruante. I am what I saie, it
 is no mockery, but of fronth, if the vi-
 sitall goddes come a daye and will
 see pertrudours in death to lete, or
 then they will not knowe us for their
 willow. Or elles accorde us for lesles.
 I have been in great view in Rome, but
 I have heard no word of that is said in
 Rome. I will write nothing to the
 count the to perue. Write to me some
 thing to comfort me, if thy wife or the
 child shoulder me of the store that
 came out of Letia with salt, oyle, and
 honey. I sende thee a woman provided
 for her. I am sure thou shalt find her our
 while was left be out by rage of his
 wife, and is be called. I actia and
 Callobius are friends together, by oc-
 casion of a marriage. I do sende thee a
 gowne, I praye to the goddis to sende
 the for therof. Say to it Pauline salu-
 reth the. I commend me to thee: O
 thy sonne. The goddis have the in he-
 ping, and contrary fortune bee from me.
 I am thy friend to the Carpius his
 stone.

A letter

M A R C V S

A letter sent by an arthe. the temperant
to the amorous ladies of Rome,
because they made a playe of
dum. The first letter.



The masons leaue put
at it makes the art of be
manite. to you amorous
ladies of Rome. I put
on to your personage, and
amendement of your be
tyed late. It is written to me, that at
the feast of the mother of the goddes,
Theraputia, all ye together theraputia
lent played, and gessed on me: I therein
ye lappe for an example my late and
my remembrance. It is shewed me, that a
mulla composed it, Lucia. Lucia wrote
it, and the selfe Tomengula dyd sing it,
and ye all together dyd present it to the
Theatre: ye haue portrayed and paynt
ed me in dyuers maners, with a booke
in my hande, touchen contray as a fai
ned philosopher: with a tong alone, as
a bolde speaker without measure: with
a booke on my head, a common rue
booke, with a nozelle in my hande, as a
remising lover: with a hance fallen
downe, as a towarde capirapne: with
balle

A V R E L I V S.

halfe a berbe, as a feminate man: with
a clothe afore myne eyes as a condemp-
ned vacabound: and yet not contente
with this, but the other daye portraied
me in a newe maner. ye made my fi-
gure, with fete of straw, my legges of
ambre, my hures of wod, the thyghes
of dyall, the helpe of horne, the armes
of pyche, the handes of mare, the head
of pessa, the eares of an asse, the eyes of
a serpente, the beares as cotes ragged,
the teth of a catte, the tonge of a scorp-
pion, and the forehead of leade, where-
in was wyrtten in two lynes these leta-
ters, *W. R. T. R. Y. S. W. S.*, the which
che meneth (as I do take it) The mor-
tal man taketh not the state so strange,
as the doublenes of the lyfe: and than
ye went to the cyuer, and therein crou-
ched his head downwarde a hole date. And
yf the lady wyellalyn had not bene, I
thinke he had bene crouched there yll nowes.
And now ye amorous ladies haue writ-
ten to me a letter by Fulvius Fabritia-
us, wherof I receiued no prync, but as
an unfourous man, from the handes of
ladies I take it as a mockerie. And to
the intent that I shoulde haue noo tyme
for to thinke thereon, ye sende to wote a
question

question of me, that is : if I haue found
 in my wrytynges, whereof, by whome,
 where, whan, what, and howe the first
 womanne were made. And bycause my
 complexion is to take mockes for moc-
 kynges, and sythe ye demaunde it, I
 shall shewe it : you and your frendes
 and myne, and specially Fulvius your
 messenger hath helpyed me thereto. There
 is nothyng wherof I complayne, but
 I will holde my peace, save to your let-
 ter and demaunde I will answer. And
 sythe there hath ben none for to aske the
 question, I proteste, that to none other,
 but to you amorous women of Rome,
 I sende myne answer. And if any other
 honest lady will take the demaunde of
 you, it is a token that she hath enuy of
 the office that ye be of. Certainly if any
 ladye sheweth her selfe annoyed with
 your pepne openly, from henceforth I con-
 demne her, that she kepe no faulte that
 she knoweth in secreete. They that bee
 on the stage, feare not the roying of the
 bulle: and he that is in a dungeon, fea-
 reth not the shotte of artillerie: I wyll
 say, a woman of good lyfe feareth no
 man with an yll tongue. The good ma-
 strones maye keepe me for they percei-
 ue

AVRELIYS.

tuall seruaunt, and they that be yll, for
they: chiefe ennemy. Nowe to answer
the questyon, to knowe wherof the first
women were made, I saie, that accor-
dyng to the diuersities of nacions, that
bee in the worlde, dyuers opynions I
fynde in this case.

The Egyptians saie, that whan the
fludde of Nyle ranne abrode, and was-
tered the earth, there abode certayn pie-
ces of earthe, cleauyng together lyke
greace, and than the beate commyng in
theym, created many wyld beastes, and
so amonge them was founde the fyrste
woman. Note ye laddes, that it was
necessary, that the flud of Nyle shulde
flowe ouer his bymmes, that the fyrste
woman myght be made on the earth. All
creatures are bredde in the entrayles of
their mothers, excepte the woman that
was bred without a mother. And this
seemeth true, that without mothers ye
were borne, bicause without rule ye liue
and without order ye dis. Verily he put-
teth him selfe to many trauailles, and
hath many toyles to fynde, and many
tymes to thynke, and to aske manys
succoutes, and to abyde manys pres-
ses, and to chuse amonge many wo-

men

men

M A R C V S

men that wyl rule one onely wyse by
reason. Be the beastes neuer soo cruell
and fierce, at the laste the lyon is ledde
of his keper without any bande. The
bulle is closed in the parke: the byrdel
ruleth the hoise, a lyttell hooke cat-
cherh the fysh, and the wolfe suffereth
to bee tyed: onely a woman is a beaste
vnable to bee tamed, and neuer leserh
her boldnes for any thyng that is com-
maunded her, nor the byrdell, for nor
beyng commaunded. The goddis haue
made men as men, and beastes as bea-
stes, and the humaine vnderstandyng
very hyghe, and his strength of a great
power: but yet is there no man, bee he
neuer so hygh, that shall shape the wo-
man lyghly, nor defende hym be he ne-
uer so strong. But I sai to you my ladi-
es: There is no spurres that can make
you go, nor raynes that can holde you,
nor byrdell that can refrayne you, nor
angle or net that can take you: and sy-
nally there is no lawe can subdue you,
nor shame refraine you, nor feare a-
basse you, nor chastisement amend you.
O to what an yll aduenture putteth he
hym selfe, that thynketh to rule and
correcte you. For yf ye take an oppinion
in

A V R E L I V S.

In hande, all the worlde shall not drabe
you from it: yf a man tell oz warne you
of any thynge, ye will neuer beleue him:
yf one gyue you good counsell, ye will
not take it: yf one threaten you, anone
ye complayne: yf one flatter you, than
ye waxe proude: yf one reioyce not in
you, ye are spytefull: yf one forbear
you, it maketh you bolde: yf ye be cha-
stised, ye tourne to serpentes: Finally
a woman will neuer forgeue any iniu-
rie, nor gyue thanke for any good dede.
Now aduaies the most simple of all wo-
men, I swere, wyl swere, that she know-
eth lesse thā she doth: and of trouth the
most wisest mans wit shal falle in their
reasons: and yet the wisest of the swar-
nerh from al wisdom. Wil ye know my
ladies, how lytell ye knowe and howe
much ye be ignorant? That is, ye de-
termine sodeynly in harde thynges of
grauitee, as yf ye had studied for it a
my. petes: and yf any gayne saie you, ye
take hym as a mortall enmye. Hardye
is that woman, that dare gyue counsel
to a man, but he is more hardyer that
taketh it of a woman. But I saie he is
a foole that taketh it, and he more foole
that asketh it, and he is much moze fo-

Al.iii.

lythe

M A R C V S

lythe that fulfilleth it. Myne opini-
on is, that he that wyl not fall among
so many stones, nor prycke hym among
soo many thornes, nor blyster hym a-
monge so many nettyls, let hym heare
what I will saie, and do as ye shall se:
Speake well and worke yll: In promys-
syng promysse muche, In fulfyllinge
fulfyll nothyng, and fynally allowe
your woordes, and condempne your
counsellles. If one shoulde demaunde
now adales of dyuers ryght renoumed
persones, that ben dead, how they dyd
with the counsell of women whan thei
lyued: I am sure, they wolde not haue
rysen than to beleue them, nor at this
houce to bee reuyued agayne to heare
theim. Howe was kynge Philippe of
Macedon with Olympias? Marys
with Helayna? Alexander with Rosas-
na? Eneas with Dydo? Hercules with
Dejanira? Hanyball with Thamyra?
Nero with Agrippine? and yf ye wyl
not bceleue what they suffered with
theim, demaunde of me howe I doo a-
monge other. O ye women, I remem-
berunge that I am borne of one of you,
abhorre my lyfe: and I thynkyng that
I lye with you, desyre death. For there
is

is none other deathe as to treate with
 you, and no better lyfe than to flee fro
 you. It is a common saying among wo-
 men, that we men be unkynde, by cause
 we beynge boine in your entailes, doo
 entreate you as bonde women and ser-
 uantes: and ye sale, sith ye bere vs with
 perill, and nourishe vs with trauaile,
 that it were conuenient and iuste, that
 we alwaies shulde be occupied in your
 seruices. Oftentimes I haue studied,
 why men desyre womē so much. There
 is no eyes, but they ought to wepe, no
 herte but it shoulde breake, noo spirite
 but it shulde be sorowfull to see a wyse
 man losse by a foolyshe woman. The
 foolyshe lover passeth the daie to satis-
 fie his syght, the darke night to romble
 with vayne thoughtes: one dai heyring
 tydynges, an other daie he offereth ser-
 uice: one tyme louing darknes, an other
 tyme he hateth the lyght: he dieth with
 company, and lyueth solitarie: and fy-
 nally the poore folish lover mai that he
 wyll not, and willet that he mai not.
 More ouer the counsell of his frendes
 p[ro]sperteth hym not, no: the shame of his
 enmyes, no: losse of his goodes, no: the
 aduerture of hono[ur], no: losing of his life.

II.iiii.

no:

M A R T Y N

nor sekynge of deathe, nor comynge nere,
 nor gayng far, nor sayng with eyes, nor
 hearng with eares, nor tastng with
 mouth, nor yet feelyng of hande: and
 finally to arrete victorie, he hath al-
 waie warre agaynst hym selfe. I wold
 these lovers knewe fro whens loue pro-
 cedeth, it is this. The encayle that we
 are byed in, is of fleshe: the brestes that
 we sucke are of fleshe: the armes that
 we are hoisted in, be of fleshe: the wor-
 kes that we do, are of the fleshe, by the
 which occasions cometh the repeale of
 our fleshe to their fleshe. Many fre ber-
 res falle into the snares of loue. It see-
 meth wel my ladies, that ye are brought
 up in puddelles, as the Egyptians say:
 The puddelles keepe noo cleere water
 to drynke, nor fruyte to eate, nor fysh
 to bee taken, nor vessel to sayle with:
 I doo saie, ye are fowle in your lyng,
 shamefull in your persons, in aduersitie
 feeble and lethy, in prosperitie subtil
 and wply, false in wooordes, doubtfull
 in your werkes. In hatyng ye keepe a
 dyssorder, extreeme to loue, auariciouse
 to geue, vnshamefast to take, and I say
 ye are a receite of feare, where as wise
 men fynde perill, and simple men suf-
 fer.

fer. In you wyse men holde they re-
noumes disallowed, and the simple men
they lyfe in penury.

¶ Let vs leaue the opinyons of the E-
gyptians, and come to the Grekes, whi-
che saie, that in the desertes of Arabie,
the sonne shyneth mooste hotte, and they
say, that at the begynnyng there appe-
red a woman alone with a byrde cal-
led Phenix, the whiche byrde they saie,
was created of the water, and the wo-
man of the great heate of the sonne, and
of the corrupcion of the powdre that
fallerh fro the trees, which the wormes
doo eate. In this wise there was a tree
sore eaten with wormes, and it chanced
by heate of the sonne, and drythe of the
powdre, that a fyre kyndeled, and so
brente it, and than of the fyre and pou-
der of the sayde brent tree, the fyrst wo-
man was made. And though I be a phi-
losopher Romayne, I wyl not say that
the oppnyon of the philosopher greeke
was yll. For of trouthe ye ladies that
be amorous, haue your tongues of the
nature of fyre, and your condicions of
the rottenesse of the pouder of wood.
After the diuersitee of beastes, nature
hath put some strength in diuers parties

MARCVS

of their bodies, as the egle in the beake,
the vnicozne in the horne, the serpent in
the tayle, the bull in the head, the beare
in the armes, the horse in the brest, the
dog in the tethe, the hogge in the groin,
the wod doue in her whynges, and wo-
men in their tongues. Of trouthe the
flyght of the wod doue is not so hyghe
as the fantasie of your folpes, nor the
catte scratcheth not soo soore with her
naples, as ye scratche soles with your
importunities: nor the dog hurteth not
theim, that he renneth at, as ye doe
the sorowfull louer that serueth you:
nor he is not in soo greate peryll of his
lyfe that catcheth the bull by the ho-
nes, as the good fame of the louer is,
that falleth into your handes. And
fynally the serpent hath not soo muche
poyson in his tayle, as ye haue in your
tongues. Set all the good Romaine
ladies: aparte for there bee manye, of
whome there is no complainte of their
persones, nor suspicion of their good
names. Of all such my letter speaketh
not, nor my penne writeth not of them,
but of other: I speake of women that
bee suche, that all benemous beastes
haue not so much poyson in their bodies
as

AURELIUS.

as they haue in their tonges. And sith that the goddis haue commanded, and our bestenies do permyt, that the lyfe of men can not passe without women: therfore I aduertise these yong people, and praiethem that be old, and awake wise men, and teache the symple, to flee awaie from women of yll name, rather than from a comon pestilence.

TAcording the auncient lawes of Plato, I fynde wryten thus: we command that all women openly infamed, be openly put out of the cite, to the entent that other seing their synnes not vnpuished, maie abhorre the sinne for feare to fal into the same pain. Also the same law saith: We commande, that pardon be gyuen to a woman of all the fautes committed by her own body, if any amendment be sene in her: but neuer to pardon them that haue committed sin with their tongues. For committing syn with an ill person, is of fragilitie, but with the tonge it is of pure malice.

TO diuine Plato, master and measure of all vnderstanding, and prince of all philosophers, whan thou madest that lawe in the golden worlde, that there was neuer such scarcitie of yll women,
and

M A R C V S

and so great aboundaunce of good wo-
men in Grece. What shall we do nowe
in Rome, where there be soo many ylle
openly, and so fewe good in secret? Na-
turally they were wont to be chaste
in theyr bysages, temperate in wordes,
wyse of wytte, sobre in goyng, meke in
conuersacion, pitiful in correction, wel
regardynge theyr lyuyng, not keepyng
companyes, stedfaste in promette, and
constant in loue. Fynally lette not the
women that will be good, truste in the
wyse dome of wyse men, nor in the flat-
terye of lyght folkes. But let her ver-
tuously regarde her renoume, and be-
ware alwaies of any man that maketh
her any promise. For after that the fla-
mes of Venus be sette on fyre, and Cu-
pide hath shotte his arrowes, the ryche
man offereth all that he hath, the poore
man all that he hath, the wyse manne
saith he will be her great frende, and
the symple alwaie her seruaunte, the
wyse man wyl lose his lyfe for her, and
the foole wyl take his deathe for her.
The olde man will saie, he will be frend
to her frendes: and the yong man will
saie, he will be ennemie to her enemies.
Some will promette to paye her debtes,
and

A V R E L I V S.

and other to reuenge her iniuries. Finally to hyde theiſe pouertie, & to ſhelue theiſe beautie, they leaue theſe folcs loſyng theiſe perſones and good names, I wyll leaue to ſpeake of good women, for it is not myn intent to lay any thing to theiſe charge: but to aduertise theiſe well, I demaunde of you amorous ladies, yf Platon was there, whan ye made a playe of my lyfe, and drew my ſygure aboute in Rome? No ſurely, in dede by that I ſee in you, at this tyme, it is ſuſpicious that is ſayde of other. For there is but a fewe in Rome, whom Plato and his lawe dothe excuſe. One thinge ye can not deny, yf I were the worſte of all men, at the laſte ye haue founde the ende of my vilanies. And ye can not deny me, but ſhe that is leaſte yll of you, in all my lyfe I coulde not ſhelue the malice of her lyfe. It is great peryll to wyſe women, to be neyghboys to fooles: Greate peryll it is to theiſe that bee ſhamefaſte, to bee with theiſe that be ſhameleſſe: great peryll it is to theiſe that be of a meke and ſtill maner to be with theiſe that be bolde and rude: great peryll it is for theiſe that be chaſt, to be with theiſe that lyue in auouerie:

greate

M A R C V S

great perill it is for the honourable, to
 be with them that be diffamed. For the
 women defamed, thynke that all other
 be defamed, and desyre that they shuld
 bee defamed, and procure to haue them
 defamed, and saye they be yll famed.
 And to the entente to couer their owne
 infamy, they infame all other that bee
 good. O you ladyes in amours, it is
 longe sithe ye knewe me and I you: and
 if ye speake, I speake, yf ye knowe, I
 know, if ye be still, I am still: if ye speake
 openly, I wil not speake in secrete. Thou
 knowest well Aulina, that made the
 test, how Eumedes solde calues deere
 in the boucherie, than thou soldest the
 innocent virgines in thy house. Thou
 knowest well Tiringa, that one daye
 thou reckenest all thy louers, but thou
 couldest not rechen them on thy fingers
 but despyedst to haue a busshell full of
 peason. And thou Lucia Fuluta knowest
 welle, whan thou were, thou wottest
 where, with Breto, and madest peace
 with thy husbände, thou tokest hym a
 syde, and saydest, but yf thou myghtest
 lye out of thy howse ones a weeke, he
 shoulde not lye in the house. And thou
 Ketozia knowest well, that in thy pong
 daies

AVRELIVS. M

daies, two peres thou were appoynted
on the see with a pyrate, so that he shuld
take no mo to satisfie a. C. men of war
in the galey. Thou Regna Corcia knowest
well, that when the censure entred
to take the, he founde. v. mens gownes,
in whiche thou wentest ever by nyght,
and thou haddest but oone womannes
gowne, that thou warest on by daie.
Thou knowest well Desilane Fabrice
that Aluinus Metellus, and thou be-
yng married, before the Censure deman-
ded openly his part, of that thou gatest
in thy house with thy secreete louers.
And thou Camill knowest well, not be-
yng content with thyn owne nacion, but
by reason of the greare hauntyng that
thou haddest with strangers, thou canst
speake all maner of languages. I will
marke them that haue marked me, and
hurte them that haue hurte me, perse-
cute them that haue persecuted me, and
infame them that haue infamed me:
All other my pen doeth pardon, bicause
they haue pardoned me in their plaie.
And bicause my letter hath begunne in
that ye haue doone to my persone, ther-
fore I wil end it in that it felith of your
good namis. And thus I conclude, that a
man

man maye scape free fro all damages,
with absteinyng fro them: But fro wo-
menne there is no wate, but to flet fro
them. Thus I ende, and demaunde of
the goddis, that I maie see of you, as
ye desyre to see of me. And sythe ye bee
louers, I counsell you as ye haue sente
me your lette for a moche, in lphetorpe
for a moche to receyue the answer.
Maethe Rodian to the amorous ladies
of Rome.

A letter sent by Marc the emperour
to Boemia, a lover of his, that wold
haue gon with him to the war-
res. The. xv. letter.

MAthe pretour Romaine
sente to the warres of
Dacy, sendeth salute to
thee his lover Boemia,
whiche art in the plesu-
res of Rome. I beyng
scaped fro the cruel battel, haue red the
schol lynes writen with thy hande, and
haue herde of the a longe information.
I saie to the, thou hast put me in a more
greate abasement, than the feare of
myne enemies. In takyng thy letter at

A V R E L I V S.

to my hand, forthwith the herbe of ma-
lyce entered into my heart. When I tem-
per my body with thy delytes, I thinke
my herte is free fro the benym of thy as-
mouts. If of my will, and thou because
thou canst doe no more, we have given
us to be free of our pleasures, I thinke
as well as to make a deuise of our en-
mies: But such as ye be, so ye do, banish-
mentes of amours, and treasures of
passions: The loue of you all ought to
be digested with pylls: but the passion
of one of you will not be oppressed with
all the Rubearbe in Alexandrie. ye were
your self cruel to pardon an enemy, and
every daye lyght to change louers. Cu-
riously I haue kepte you all the while
that delytes ouerpressed my youth: yet
I coude neuer see in any woman no cer-
taine, nor reason in loue, but hate at
the laste. Thy present lyghnes quarel-
leth with my youthfull past: and it is by-
cause thou seest not in me the auncient
will towards the, nor the presente ser-
uice: And certainly being thyne accu-
sacion, and not my iustificacion, as iust-
ly thou paieest me with death, as I pay
the with forgetfulness. The which for-
gettyng is as straunge to bee in hym

Am

that

M A R C V S

that serueth, as vngentilnes in the lad-
dy that is serued. Thinkest thou, that
I haue forgotten the lawe of Venus,
where as it commaundeth, that the cu-
ryous louers shuld exercise theyr stren-
gthes in armes, and occupie their bea-
tes in loue: and also that theyr apparrell
be very cleanly, theyr sete well compas-
sed, theyr bodyes stedfast and not wa-
ueryng, theyr voyces low and soft, and
sadde in countenaunce: theyr eyes open
gasing at wyndowes, and theyr hertes
redy to flee in the ayre. Of trouthe my
lone Boemia, he is but a grosse louer,
that holdeth his will in captiuitie,
and his vnderstanding free. The vnder-
standyng oughte to bee loose, where as
wyll is in pylson. I saie this to the en-
tent that thoughe myne age haue leste
the exercyse, yet my spirite hath not
forgotten the arte. Thou complaynest,
because I gyue my selfe to rest, and
that I haue greatly forgotten the. I
wyl not deny the trouthe: the date of
forgettyng maketh the muster of my
thoughtes, and reason which is prouid-
four declareth, that it is not so my gra-
uetye to permit, that I shuld loue, nor
thy age to suffre to be beloued. As now
thou

A V R E L I V S

thou knowest, that dyuers thynges,
that fourthe dysmuleth in yonge per-
sons, in age meryteth greuous correcti-
on. Who debes done in yowth procedeth
of ignorance: but the villanies done in
age proceedeth of malice. Whan I hepe
the Caucrons, I leered in the Arces,
I sange balades, I gased to the wynd-
owes, I played on instrumentes, I
scaled the wals, I wakened lyght per-
sons: chynkest thou that I wylt what
I dyd in my yowth? and now that I see
my selfe promoted fro these pleasures,
and decked with so many whyte beas-
tes, and apparapled with so many dou-
lours, I chynke now I was not chan-
gelyes I dreame as nowe, not know-
yngt the wayes that I haue gone, nor
sepyng the wayes full of stones, I haue
fallen ere I was ware, I haue fallen in
lunacyes: sekynge no gypde, I was entred
into the wynde poole: and by the gros-
senes of my boldenesse, I was lost, and
therfore I haue deserued pardon, and
nowe that I am oute of the thornes
and busshes, thou woldest haue me fur-
ther in than ere I was. And now that
I can not take the purgacions, thou
offertest to me syrops. I haue watched

2000

Agm. ii,

all

MARCVS

all nyghte, and touched newely the ay-
larne. For thy auntyent amitie I pra-
the, and conuere the in the name of the
goddis. Orbe that my herte is rebell a-
gaynst thy will, whiche is right dout-
ful: cause me to leaue to desyre the thus
without doubte. And to the extent that
thou shouldest not thynke any unkind-
nes in my whyle heates, as I make ar-
gue thy face of ydelnes. I wyl that we
rechen what we haue wonne, or hope
to wyne. Shewe me what cometh
of these pleasures: the tyme all spent,
good name in scatterynge to perdition,
the patrymonie wasted, the credence
losse, the goddis annoyed, the vertues
sclaundred, the name of brute beastes
got, and surnames of shame: such ye
and we and other be. Thou wyrt in
thy letter, how thou wylt leaue home,
and come and see me in the warres of
Dacy. Seynge thy foly I laugh, and
knowledging thy boldnes, I helene the.
And whan I thynk thus I take the let-
ter again out of my bosome, and behold
the seale, doubting if it be thy letter or
not. Thou alterest my pulces and felin-
ges of my herte, and the colour of my
face chaungeth, imagening, that either
shame

A V R E L I V S.

Same surmounteth in the, or elles grea-
 nytie faileth in me. For such lychtines
 shulde not be beleued, but of lyke light
 persones. Thou knowest well, he that
 doeth pite, meryteth paine soner than he
 that doeth infamy. I wold wytte, whi-
 ether thou wylt go? Thou haste ben cut
 for vertinace, and now thou woldst be
 solde for wyne. Thou beganst fyrst an
 cherpes, and thou wilt be last as quye-
 ces: we haue eaten the in blossomes, &
 thou wilt be lyke the fruyte: the nattes
 are very good, but the shales be harde,
 with steele and donge thou arte made
 rype, and thou arte rotten, and if thou
 be rotten, thou art to be lothed. Thou
 art not content with .xl. peres, that thou
 hast, of the whiche .xxv. peres are pas-
 sed in tast as wyne, that is to be solde:
 and as strawberies hyd vnder the lea-
 ues that are corrupt and rotten. Art not
 thou Boemia, that lacketh two tethe,
 the eyes holowed, with white beares,
 and a riueld face, one hande losse with
 the gout, and a rye marred with childe
 beryng? whither wylt thou go? put
 thy selfe than in a barell, and caste the
 and it into the riuier, and thou shalte
 come out all weate. We haue eaten the

39m.iii.

frethe

feebe fybe, and nowe thou woldest
 byng hyther the rusty old salt fybe in
 Bede therof. O Boemia Boemia, now
 I know there is no truste in youth, nor
 hope in age. Thou complaynest, that
 thou hast nothing. That is an old qua-
 relle of the amorous ladies of Rome,
 whiche takyng all, saie they haue no-
 thyng: and that ye lacke of credence,
 ye do full wylch money. Therefore be-
 leue me louing frend, the folish estate,
 that procedeth of vnlawful wyngyng,
 gyuerbe smalle suertee and lesse good
 name to the persone. I can not tell how
 thou hast spende soo muche. For yt I
 drew of my ringes with one hand, thou
 dydest open my purse with the other
 hand. I had greater warres with my
 coffers than, than I haue nowe with
 myne ennemyes. I coulde neuer haue
 lewell, but thou woldest demaunde it:
 for I dyd neuer deny the. Now at this
 houre I meruaile, for in this myne age
 I finde great hinderance by my youth.
 Thou complainest of trauaile and po-
 uertee, I am he that hath great neede of
 that medicine for this opilation and a
 playster for that soze, and to haue some
 colde water for that hote feuer. Are
 thou

A V R E L I V S.

thou not aduysed, that I banished my
necessities in the lande of forgetfulnes,
and dyd set vp thy wyll for the requeste
of my scrupce. In wynter I wente all
bare, and in sommer charged with clo-
thes, I wente on fote in the myre, and
rode in the fayre wale: whan I was he-
uy, I laughed, and whan I was meey,
I wepte. for diede I drewe forth my
strengthes, and oute of my strengthes
cowardise. The nyghbres to syghe, and
on the daie to wapte where thou wene-
rest by. Whan thou haddest nede of
any thyng, I was fayne to robbe my
father for it. Tell me Boemia, with
whome fulfilledst thou thyne open so-
lyes, but with the ylle orders that I
putte my selfe to in secrete? Wotte ye
what me semeth by you amorous lady-
es of Rome: ye are in the courte as the
lyttell mothes eatynge olde clothes,
and a pastyme for lyght folkes, trea-
surers of foolles, and sepulchers of vi-
ces. This that semethe me is, that if
in thy yowthe every man gaue to the,
bycause thou shouldest geue the to eu-
ery man, now thou giuest thy selfe to e-
very man, bycause every man shoulde
geue hym to the, Thou tellest me, that

Agm. iiii.

thou

thou hast thy sons, and lackest helpe for
 them; yette graces to the goodnes of
 the pitie that they haue vnto thee, the
 they haue giuen to, to children of fa-
 bricio my neyghboure but one father,
 and to two of thy children onely, they
 haue giuen 11. fathers. Therfore denide
 them amongst thy fathers, and euery
 man shall not haue one synger. Lucia
 thy doughter in dede and mine by sus-
 pecte, remembre that I haue done more
 in making of her, than thou dydest in
 her protection. For to the getting of
 her, thou dydest cald dincers, and to mary
 her I did it alone. I write to the but li-
 tel, to the respect of that I wold write.
 Butelio Cornelio hath spoken muche on
 thy part, he hym selfe shall shewe the as
 muche of my part. It is longe ago since
 I knew thyne impacience. I know wel
 thou wilt send me an other letter more
 malicious. I praye the litle I wrote to
 the secretly, besame me not openly.
 And whan thou receist this letter, re-
 membre what occasions thou giuen me
 to write, I thought that we be too fren-
 des, yett will I not leue to send the what
 I send the a gowne, & the gods be with
 the, and bringe me out of this house
 with

with peace: as the p̄sent in Walle to
his ancient loue Boemia.

The answers to the emperours
letter sente by Boemia.
The xvi. letter.



Boemia thyne ancient lo-
uer, to the Mace of monne
Cello her mortall enemy.
I besyde vengeance of thy
person, and yll fortune for
all thy life. I haue recey-
ued thy letter, and thereby perceyue thy
damnable intentes and thy cruell ma-
lices. Suche yll persones as thou arte,
haue this priuilege, that sike one doth
suffre your villanies in secreete, ye wyl
hurte them openly, but thou shalt not
doo so with me as yet: for though I be
not treasouress of thy treasours, yet at
least I am treasouress of thyne ylnesse:
and where as I canne not reuenge me
with my persone, I shall labour to doo
it with my tongue. And thynke, that
though we women bee weake, and our
bodies soone ouercome, yet wyte it for
certayne, that our hertes are neuer van-
quished. Thou sayst, that scappynge from

M A R C V S

a battayle, thou dyddest receyue my letter, wherof thou werte soore abashed. It is a veray common thyng to them that be weake and slacke, to speake of loue, wanton fooles, to treate of bookes, and to cowardes to babble of armes: I saie it, because the answering to a letter was not of necessitie to reherse to a woman as I am, whether it met be fore the bataile or after. I knowe well, thou art scaped fro it, for thou werte not the tyfste that fought, nor the last that fledde. Whan thou werte yonge, I neuer sawe the go to the warre, that euer I dyedde or had suspence of thy lyfe: for knowyng thy cowardyse, I neuer toke care for thine absence, for therein I was mooste sure of thy persone. Than I sch tell me now, what thou doest in thyne age, I thinke thou bearest the speare not for to iuste in the warre, but for to leane on whan the goute greenerd the. Thy helmet I deeme thou bearest with thee, to drynke with in tauerne, and not to defende the fro the strokes of swerdes! for I neuer saw the stephe mē with thy swerd, but I haue knowen the slea a. m. women with thy tongue. O malicious and unhappie warr, if thou werte

A V R E T I V S

were as balliant as thou art malicious,
 thou shuldest be as greatly dread of the
 barbarische nations, as thou arte hated;
 as reason is, of the matrons of Rome.
 Tell me what thou list, at the lest thou
 canst not denye, but as thou haste been
 a weak and slacke lover, so thou arte,
 now a weaker & slacke coward knight;
 an vnknown frende, auaritious, in-
 famed, malicious, cruell, enemy to a
 nery man, and frende to no bodye. And
 we that haue knowen the, yong, strong,
 and lustye, condemne the for an olde
 foole. Thou sayest that takyng my let-
 ter in to thy handes, thy harte took
 the payson of malice. I beleue it well
 without swearyng, for any thyng being
 malicious forthwith syndeyth lodgyng
 in thy howse. Beastes, that be corrupt,
 lightly take the payson, that they that
 be of good complexion caste awaie.
 Of one thyng I am in certayne, thou
 shalt not dye of payson. For one venym
 oftentymes distroyeth an other venym.
 O malicious Marke, yf all they in
 Rome knewe the, as well as sorow-
 full Boemia dooeth, they shulde soone
 see, what difference were betwene the
 woordes that thou speakest, and the in-
 tencion

fencion of thy herte. And if by the witt-
 tynges that thou makest, thou meritest
 to haue the name of a philosopher, by
 the pynesse that thou doest inuent, thou
 doest merite to haue the name of a ty-
 rant. Thou sayest, thou sawest neuer
 certitude in the loue of a woman, nor
 ende of her hate. I haue greates glorie,
 that other ladies beside me, haue know-
 ledge of thy small wysdom. I se that,
 I will not mocke thee, thou art such
 one, as neuer deserved, that one shulde
 begyn to loue the, nor leaue to hate the.
 Wylte thou haue certitude in loue, and
 thou vnfaithfull of thy seruices? Wylte
 thou serue with mockeries, and wouldest
 be loued truly? Wylt thou enuy
 the persone withoute spendyng of any
 of thy goodes? Wylte thou haue noo
 complayntes of the, and thou not reas-
 syng thy malices? Thou sayest, thou
 knowest the pynesse of women. I wyl
 thou knowe, we bee nat so foolyshe, as
 thou thynkest, nor thou so wise, as thou
 weneest, to prayse thy selfe. yet hitherto
 hath ben sene mo men, to folowe the ap-
 petite of women; then there hath been
 women folowyng the wille of men. In
 none of bothe is greatte truste, and yet
 we

A V R E L I V S.

We bothe practise, that one man hathe
his herte soo mightye, to bee more wy-
ser than thre wyle women, and one wo-
man thynketh her so stronge, to put un-
der her fete, and overcome. iii. C. such
as be light. Thou saiest, thou arte aba-
shed of my lygbtuesse, to leaue Rome,
and come to the beynge in the warres.
Groot is the loue of the countrey, si the
that many leaue diuers wealthes that
they haue in straunge landes, and lyue
steytly, for to lyue in their owne land:
but greater is my loue, sy the that I
wolde leaue Rome with all the pleasu-
res, to go and serche for the in straunge
landes among the cruel batailles. O ma-
licious Marke. O straunge louer, if I
leaue Rome, it were to go and seke my
herte beynge in the battailes with the.
And certaiuely dyuers tymes whan I
doo thynke on thyne absence, I swoune
and forowe as my herte were not with
me, and yet I fynde no perfite remedy.
I thynke our loue is not like these bea-
stes, that loye of their pleasures, with-
out to will, and desyre their willes. I
swear to thee, by the goddesse Vesta,
and by the mother Berecynthia, that
thou owest me more for one daie of loue
that

that I haue had to the, than for the ser-
 uices that I haue doone to the in. xxii.
 yeres. Beholde vnbappy Maich, howe
 muche in thy presence I haue alwayes
 regarded the, and in thyne absence, I
 haue alwayes thought on the, and sle-
 pping I haue alwaies dreamed of the,
 I haue wept for thy travail, & laughed
 at thy pleasure, and finally all my
 welthe I haue wished the, and all thy
 pyles I haue wished me. I ensue the
 one thyng, that as nowe I feele not
 so muche the persecution that thou do-
 est to me, as I dooe the mysknowlage
 that thou makest to me. It is a greate
 sorowe for an auaricious man to see his
 goodes losse, but without compayson
 it is farre greater for the louer to see his
 loue p^rsently bestowed. It is a hurte that is
 alwaies sore, and a payne alwaies payne-
 full, a sorow alwaies sorowful, and it is
 a verbe that neuer endeth. O ye men, yf
 ye knew with what loue women loueth
 you in perkynes whan thei loue, & with
 what hert they hate whan they are set
 to hate: I sweare to you ye wold neuer co-
 pany with them in loue: or if ye do loue
 them, ye wold neuer leaue them for
 feare of theyr hate, and there is neuer
 great

AVRELIVS.

greatest hate, but where as much love
was first. But thou shalt never be great
ly hated, for thou were never truly lo-
ved of ladies. The sorrowfull Boemia
hath loved thee first, pere of her life, and
now she only hateth thee, till after her
death. Thou saiest, I maye be eaten for
her tyce, and yet I wolde bee sold for
wine. I know wel I haue erred, as one
that hath ben yong and light, and whos
I perceived that I hadde lost my waye,
and that my misadventure can fynd no
way nor remedy: It is the greatest losse
of all losses, whan there is no remedy.
I haue erred lyke a feeble and a weak
woman, but thou hast erred as a strong
man: I haue erred by simple ignorance
but thou hast erred of a prepossessed and
wylfull malice: I haue erred, not know-
ing that I shoulde haue erred, but
thou knewest what thou dydest: I
haue trusted to thy wordes, as to a
faythfull gentyll man, and thou hast
begged me with a thousande leasyn-
ges as a lyer. Telle me dydest thou
not seeke occasion to comme in to my
mothers house Betulia, to allure me
her daughter Boemia to thy mynde?
Dydest thou not promise my father to
teache

teache me to rede in one pere: and thou
 taughtest me to rede the booke of Dut-
 ties, of the arte of loue: Diddest thou
 not sweare to be my husband, and than
 withdrewest thy hand as a fals aduon-
 ter: Dooest thou not know, that thou
 neuer foundest villan in my persone,
 nor I neuer founde froutbe in thy mou-
 the: At leaste thou canst not denye, but
 thou haste offended the goddis, and art
 infamed of men, and odious to the Ma-
 mayns, sclaudred of good folkes, and
 example to the yll folkes: and specially
 a traptour to my father and mother, a
 breaker of thy faith, and to me sorow-
 full Boemia an vnkynde louer. O ma-
 licious Marke, haste thou not cutte me
 in leaues, offering to my father to hepe
 his vines surely: All make the chichyn
 truste the kye, or the lambes the wol-
 ues, & worse the to byng by the dought-
 ers of them that be good. O cursed
 Marke, A damageable keeper of vines
 hath the matrones of Rome found the,
 in heppng their doughters: I sweare,
 that there was noyther grape nor cla-
 ster, but it was eaten or cutte by the.
 Thou dyddest eate me beyng grene, I
 promise the it hath set thy teethe on an
 yll

AVRELIVE.

fil edge. Thou saiest, I tpyed by potow
er of beate and strawe. It displeaseth
me not soo muche, that thou saiest, as
thou gnest me occasion to saie to the.
Thy shame is so shamfull, and thy ma-
lyte so vnshamefast, that I can not an-
swere the to the pourpose, without but-
tyng or touchyng the quicke. I wolde
wytte of the, whan thou maryedest
Faustyne, whether thou foundest her
grene or rype? Thou knowest wel, and
lykewise so do I, that other beside the,
gauged the vessell, and thou drankest
the lies: other gathered the graps, and
thou gleinedest the vine: other dyde eate
the grapes, & thou hadst the huskes. O
wicked wyck, behold thyne euyls, and
hote the gods haue giue the iust chast-
sement, that thou being yong meritedst
not to be despyred of thy louers, nor that
thy wyues keepe feithe to the in thyne
age. For to be aduenged of thy person,
I nede none other thyng, but to se the
maryed to Faustyne. By the mother
Berecynthia I promyse the, that yf thy
smal wylledom myght attaine to know
entierly, what is saied of her and the in
Rome, surely, thou woldest wepe night
and daie for the lyfe of Faustyne, and

An

not

MARCVS

not leaue the thoughtfull Boemia. **M**arc lyttell thought is taken for the,
and how far is our vnderstandyng vncoupled for thy thoughtes bicause that
with thy greate doctrine by daie tyme
thy house is made a schoole of philoso-
phers, and the wantonnes of thy wyfe
Faustyne by nyght, maketh it a bordel
of ruffians. It is a iust iugement of the
goddis, that sithe thynne onely malpce
suffiseth to popson many that be good,
that one alone male suffyse to vnbende
and lose thy renoume. One difference
there is betweene the and me, and thy
wyfe Faustyne: for my dedes are but
in suspect, and yours ar openly known
in dede: myne are secrete, and yours ar
evident: I haue stombled, but ye haue
fallen. Of one thyng alone I haue me-
rited to be chastised, but ye haue deser-
ued noo forgyuenes: My dishonour is
dead with the faut, and is buried with
myne amendemente, but your infamie
is born with your desires, & is brought
bp with your wylls, and liueth still
with your werkes: fynally therefore
your infamie shal neuer dye, for you ly-
ued neuer wel. **M**alicious Marcus,
with al that thou knowest, worest thou
not

AVRELIVS.

not, that for lospng of a good name, an
 yll fame is recovered: and in the ende
 of a good lyfe, begynneth a good fame?
 Thou ceasseste not to saie ylle onely by
 suspition, the which thy false iugemen-
 tes shewe the: and yet thou wouldeste
 we shoulde not speake that we se with
 our eyes. Of one thyng bee thou sure,
 that neither of the, nor of thy wife Fau-
 styne there is no false witnesse: for the
 trouth is so euident, that there nedethe
 not to innent any lyes. Thou saist, that
 it is an olde quarell of amorous ladies
 of Rome, that in takynge fro many we
 are the poorest of all othere: bicause we
 faile in credence, we are honoured for
 syluer. It is of certaintie, that we my-
 struste the holly bicause of his priches,
 the acornes, for his bushes, the roses a-
 mong nettyls, and thy mouthe for thy
 malice, I haue curiouslye taken bede,
 that thou neuer saiest well by women,
 nor I neuer coulde fynd, that any wold
 the good: What greater correction
 wold I haue of thy wickednes, or more
 vengeance for mine iniuries, but to bee
 certain, that al þe louing ladis of Rome
 at fori of thy life, wold be glad of thy
 death: The life of þe man is wicked, that

An. ii.

man

MARCVS

many betwyle, and in whose death e-
 uery body reioyseth. It is the propertie
 of poore vnhapnde persons as thou art,
 to forgette the great goodnesse done to
 them, and to be sorre for the lptell that
 they geue. As muche as noble hertes
 glorifie them in gyuing to other, so mu-
 che are they ashamed to receiue serua-
 ces vnrewarded. For in gyuing, they
 make thein selfe lordes, and in recey-
 uing they are as slaues. I wold witte
 what thou hast giuen me, or what thou
 hast receiued of me? I haue aduenture
 my good name, and giuen the possession
 of my persone: I haue made the lord
 and maister of all my goodes: I haue
 banished my selfe out of my countrey,
 and put my selfe in peryll ouerly for thy
 sake: and in recompence of all this,
 thou reprochest me now of myserie.
 Thou neuer gauest me any thyng with
 thy good wyll, nor I neuer receined it
 wyllynghly, nor it dyd me neuer profite.
 If thynges recover a name, not for the
 common warke that we see, but for the
 secret intention with the whiche we
 worke. And thou unhappy man desya-
 tedst me, not to enioye my persone, but
 rather to haue my money. We ought
 not

AVRELIVS.

not to call the a clere lover, but a thefe,
and a wply fee couer. I had a lyttell
rynge of the, whiche I am determyned
to cast into the ryuer, and the clothyng
that I had of the I haue brente in the
fyre. And yf that my bodye were any
thyng amended with the bread that I
haue eaten of thyne, I wolde cutte my
fleshe, and let out the blode without a
my feare. O cursed Marke, thy darke
malyce wolde not suffre the clerely to
vnderstande my letter: for I entended
not to aske money, to releue my pover-
tee and solytarynesse, but reknowled-
gyng and thynkyng to satisfie my wil-
lyng herte. Suche vaine and couetous
men as thou arte thy selfe, are pleased
with gyftes, but the hertes incarnate
in loue are lyttel satisfied with syluer.
For loue onely is payed with loue a-
gaine. The man that loueth not as a
man of reasone, but as a brute beaste,
and the woman that loueth not but for
the interest of her persone: suche ought
not to be trusted in theyr woordes, nor
their persones despyred. For the loue of
her endeth, whan the goodes fayle: and
the loue of hym, whan her beautee fail-
eth. If thy loue proceded onely of the

An.iii.

beautie

M A R C V S

beautie of my face, and my loue onely
 for the money of thy pourses: it were no
 right, that we were called tolse louers,
 but rather very nice persons. O wicked
 Marke, I neuer loued the for thy good-
 des, though thou louedest me for my
 beautie: with all my herte I loued the
 than, and with all my hert I hate the
 nowe. Thou saiest the gods haue shew-
 ed me great pittie, to gyue me seuerall chil-
 dren, and to them many fathers. The
 greatest blame in women is to bee vn-
 chaste, and the most vylanie in men,
 is to bee ylle saiers. Dyuers thinges
 ought to be suffered for the fragilitie of
 women, whiche are not permytted in
 the wisdomme of men. I saie this be-
 cause I neuer sawe temperance in the,
 for to couer thyne owne malices, not
 wisdomme to excuse the debilities of o-
 ther. Thou saiest, that my sonnes haue
 dyuers fathers. I sweare vnto the,
 that though thou dye, the children of
 Faustine shall not be fatherlesse. And
 of trouthe if the goddis as thou saiest,
 haue be pittiful to my chyldren, no lesse
 arte thou to straunge chyldren. For
 Faustine keperhe the, but to excuse her
 blame, and to be furour of her chyldren

AVRELIVS.

O cursed Mares, thou maist wel reioyce
and take noo thoughte, for thine owne
chil dren haue no neede to be married. For
one thing we are bounde, that is for the
example, the which thou doest geue of
thy paryence: For sythe thou sufferest
faulstye in so many infamies, it is no
great neede that we suffre any secretes
in the. I saie no more at this tyme, ma-
kyng an ende of my letter, desyng the
ende of thy persone.

A letter sent by Marcus the mperour
to Martine a yong maiden of Rome,
of whome he was enamoured,
seinge her at a wyndowe.

The.xvii.letter.



Take the mperour, the be
st delicious, to the Marti
ne greatly desired. I wot
not if by good aduenture
of mine il aduenture, or by
yl aduenture of my good
aduenture, I did se the of late at a win-
dowe, where as thou heldest thine ar-
mes as close as mine eien were spiede
abrode, that cursed bee they for euer.
For in beholdinge thy face, my herte

An.iiii.

for the

MARCVS

forthwith abode with the as prysoner.
 The begynninge of thy knowlege
 is the ende of my reason, and selving of
 flyght. Of one traunple cometh infi-
 nite trauailes to men, I sai it for this,
 if I had not bene ydell, I had not gone
 out of my house, and yf I had not gone
 out of my house, I had not gone out in-
 to the stretes, and yf I had not passed
 through the strete, I had not sene the at
 thy wyndow, and yf I had not sene the
 at thy wyndow, I had not despyed thy
 persone: and not despyng thy persone,
 I had not put thy name in so great pe-
 ctyll, nor my lyfe in traunple, nor had
 gyuen none occasion in all Rome to
 speake of vs. Of a trouthe lady Ma-
 trine in this case I condemne my selfe,
 sythe I wolde beholde the. And thou
 woldest be saluted, sythe thou despyedst
 to be sene. And sith thou were set as a
 whyte marke, it was no great maruail
 that I shot with þ arowes of mine eyes
 at the buttes of thy beautie, with rol-
 ling eyes, with browes bent, well co-
 loured face, incarnate terte, ruddye
 lippes, reyspe heares, handes sette
 with ringes, clothed with a thousand
 maner of clothynges, bearynge purples
 full

AVRELIVS.

full of sweete smells, and bracelets full
of knacks, with perles and stones at
the eares. Tell me what becometh of a
woman, with these thynges, that will
shew her self at a wyndowe? The most
cause is, that I can esteeme v; thyng
therin, that sythe you doo shewe your
bodies openly to vs at the cie, that your
will is, that we should knowe your de-
sires secretely. And if it be so, as I as-
sume that it is so, it semeth me madam
Marine, thou shaldest desire him that
desireth the, to enfourme him that let-
teth the, to answer hym that calleth
the, and feele that he feleth, intende to
hym that intendeth to the: and sythe I
vnderstande the, vnderstand me, and vnder-
stande sythe thou dooest not vnder-
stande. I am aduysed, as I wente by
the strete Salacia to se theues put to iu-
stice, myne eien sawe the at a wyndow,
on whome dependeth all my desires.
Thou dooest more Iustyce to me, than
I doo to the theues: for I being at ius-
tice, thou haste iusticied the Iustyce,
and none dare payne the. The gybet is
not so cruell to them that neuer knewe
but yll doyng as thou arte to me that
never thought, but how I might do the

MARCVS

service. The theues suffre but one dea-
 the, and thou makest me to suffre a thou-
 sand in a daie. In one houre the theues
 liues are ended, and I die every minute:
 I drawe towarde deathe wrongfully,
 and they suffre for theyr faulces: I suf-
 fer an innocent, they openly, and I in-
 secreete. What shall I saie more to thee
 Of trouble they wepte many dropes
 with theyr eyes because they dye, and
 I wepe teares of bloude in my hart, be-
 cause I lyue. This is the difference,
 theyr tourmentes spredeth abroad thro-
 rough all their bodies, and I kepe mine
 together in myne herte. O cruell Ma-
 strine, I can not tell what iustice it is to
 put men to death that steale money, and
 suffre women to liue that robbe mennes
 hertes: Yf theyr eares be cutte of, that
 picke mennes purses, why are women
 than pardoned, that rob mens inward
 hertes and cuttles: By thy noblenes
 I praye thee, and by the goddesse Venus
 I coniure thee, either answere to my de-
 syre, or elles restore my herte agayne,
 whyche thou haste robbed fro me. I
 woulde thou knewest the cleere saythe
 of my hart, rather than this letter
 written with my hande. Yf myn aduen-
 ture

AVRELIVS.

ture were so good as to speke with the,
and that thy loue were not ashamed
therof, I wold hope with the sight and
speche to wpyne that that I am in sus-
pette to leese by my letter. The reason
is, bycause thou herest my yll and rude
reasons redyng my letter. And if thou
sawest me, thou shouldest see the cruell
teares that I offer to the by my lyfe. I
wolde my mouth coulde publyshe my
encaged euyls, as my hart feleth, than
I sweare to the lady Matrine, that my
grecuous dolour shuld awake thy small
thought. And as thy beautie and myne
affection haue made me thynne owne: so
the knowlage of my passion shuld make
the myne. I desire that thou shouldest
regarde the begynnyng, and therewith
regarde the ende. Certaynely the same
daye that thou enpysonedst my harte
at thy wyndowe, in the dungeon of my
despyres, I hadde noo lesse weakenesse
to bee ouercommie, than thou haddest
force to constrayne me. And more grea-
ter is thy power, to putte thy selfe fro
me, than my reason is to putte me fro
the. I aske noo mercy of the, but that
wee myghte declare oure wylls to-
gyther. But in this case, what wylte
thou

MARCVS

thou that I should save, but that thou
 haste so much power over me, and I so
 little of my libertie, that will I, nyl I,
 my harte can not bee but thine. And it
 being thine, thou maiest, and wilt not
 declare thy selfe to be myne. And sith it
 maie not be, but that my lyfe must bee
 condemned in thy scrupce, bee thou as
 sure of my faith, as I am doubtfull of
 thy hope: For I shall have a greater
 welthe to be losse for thy sake, than to
 wyne any other thynge. I will saie no
 more at this tyme, but that thou ac-
 compte my pardicion and dearthe, and
 drawe the lyfe of my teares into open
 ioye. And because that I holde my
 faith in thy faith, and will neuer dis-
 paye in thy hope, I sende to the. x. lit-
 tell rynges of golde, with ten stones of
 Alexandrye. And I curse the by the
 immortal goddis, that whan thou do-
 est put thein on thy fyngers, thou sette
 me in thine herte and entrailes. Mar-
 cus amorous wrote this with his own
 hande.

And

An other letter sent by Mark the
perour, to the sayd gentill woman.

Marrine. The.xviii.letter.



Arke habitant at Rome,
to the Marrine his right
swete enemy. I calle the
swete, for it is lust that I
die for the. And I cal the
enemy, bycause thou ma-
kest not an ende to slea me. I can not tell
wherin it is, but sith the feaste of Yano
hitherto, I haue writen thre letters to
the. And to thanke were of them, I wold
that I had sene two letters from the, if
it were thy plesure. If that I serue the,
thou woldest that I shoulde not serue:
yf I speake, thou wylte not speake to
me: if I loke at the, thou wylt not be-
hold me: if I call the, thou wilt not an-
swer: if I visite the, thou wylte not see
me; yf I write to the, thou wilt giue me
none answer, and worst of all, if other
doe shewe the of my bolours, thou ma-
kest but a mock thereof. And if I had as
much knowlage, where to complayne
to the, as thou haste power to remedye
the playntife, my wisdom should be no
lesse be praised amonge wyse men, than
thy

MARCVS

thy beantie is amonge fooles. I praye
the hartily regard not the cōtrarieties
of my reasons, but regarde the faithe
of my weppnges, the whiche in witnes
of my peines I do gyue vnto the. I wot
not what good maie come to the of my
harmes, nor what winnyng of my losse
thou shouldest hope to gette: nor what
suertie of my peril thou shouldest attēyn
vnto: nor what pleasure of my displeas-
sure thou mayest haue. I haue had ann-
swer of my messenger, that without re-
dyng of my letters, thou haste with thy
handis tornen them al to peces. It ought
to suffice the to thynke, that my persone
were betwen in quarters, yet I woulde
thou haddest red these small lynes lady
Martrine, for by them thou shouldest haue
sene, how my thoughtes were troublid,
ye women are soo extreme, that for the
saure of one man, a woman wil cōplain
of all other men in generall, so that ye
be cruell for one patticular cause. I praye
ye pardon all mens lyues, and make
crete ye procure euery mans deathe. I
esteeme it nothyng eame Martrine that
thou haste doone: but I lament me of
that thou demaundeste Valerius the
neighbour to saye to me. One thyng

AVRELIVS.

I woulde thou haddest in memory, and
 not forgotte, and that is, sith that my
 libertee is so smalle, and thy power so
 great, bycause I being all holly myne
 owne, I am touned to bee thyne, that
 thou shouldest thynke, that whan thou
 wouldest inturie me, thou shouldest doo
 mooste inturpe to thy selfe, sith that by
 the I dye, as thou by me dooest lyue.
 In this yll pourpose perseuer not, for
 thou dooest aduenture the lyfe of vs
 both. Thou damnest thy condiction, and
 destroyest my healtie, and finally thou
 muste come to the medicine. Forgive me
 dame Agatrine, yf I late any malice to
 the, that is, I knowe that ye women
 desyre one thyng, and kepe vs in drede,
 that it shulde not come by her thought.
 Thou were wouste to bee well condicio-
 ned, and at leaste thoughe thou dooest
 not put it in vs, yet thou haste the same
 thereof, and an auncient fame oughte
 not to bee leste for a newe unkyndnesse.
 Thou knowest well, what contraynes
 dooth vngentylnesse to the vertuous in
 vertuose howses, and thou canste not
 bee called vertuous, but yf thou bee
 gentyll and curteple. There is no grea-
 ter unkyndenesse, thanne to loue her
 that

that loneth not me, that I bysite the,
 and thou vilttest not me, that I speake
 to the, and thou speakest not to me is
 nothing, that I knowlege the, and thou
 wilt not knowe me is nothing, though
 I wepe, and thou laughe is nothinge,
 though I demande, and thou denyest is
 nothinge though thou owe me, and ne-
 ver paie, yet it is nothing, but where as
 I lone the, and thou not me, is a great
 thyng. What thyng that can not be dis-
 simulated with the eyes, nor the hart suf-
 fer, all the bices amonge mortall crea-
 tures, it is reason that they be forgiven,
 because they are committed by nature,
 save onely the unioynng of women, and
 the unkindnesse of men, whiche are bi-
 ces committed of malice. And by such
 seruises by me done to the, and muche
 more that I have to doo hereafter, thou
 shouldest have alowed all onely pay me with
 one thyng, I praye the refuse not to geue
 me remedy, sith I have not offered me
 in the perill. If thou saye, that I attri-
 bute thy spouse hath the propertie ouer
 the, yet at least, receiue me to the profe,
 and I shall pretende possession of the.
 And in this wyse in the voynglory to be
 thyne, shall couer the damage not to be
 myne

A V R E L I V S.

my n. Thou makest me to meruaille sore,
howe for so small a mercy and reward
thou canst suffer suche importunitie to
longe. For certayne many thynges we
grant to an importunate man, the whiche
are not granted to a temperate man.
If thou hopest to overcome me by
trine, I holde my selfe vanquished: If
thou wilt lose me, I holde me for lost.
If thou wilt slea me, I peld my selfe
as dead. For by the gesture that I make
afore thy gate, and the syghes that I
make in myne owne house, are greatly
myne to relpde, and the greuous assault
of the, be edifies more to common bea-
the, than to defende the lyfe. If thou
wylte that I scape this danger, denye
me not the remedy, bycause it shall bee
a greater byce in the to slea me, than
villany to geue me remedy. And it were
no tiste thyng for so small a price to lose
the faith of so great service. I wot not
what to doo, to make the my debtout,
and thou to paye me. And yet worst of
all, I wot not what to doo, nor what to
saye, nor to sale, nor to whom to de-
fermyne me, because I can not assure a-
ny profit in me, but to be certayn in thy
seruaices. And bycause thou doest truste

314

Da

hym

M A R C Y S

hym that hath doonet his message, by
him I do send this open letter, and my
secrete answer, I do sende the a icwell
of perles, and a besand of gold. To the
goddis I doo commende the. And I re-
quire the for to recepye it with as good
a will as I do present it vnto the. Marc
orator to the right honorable Maierne.

A letter sent by Marc the emperour
to Libia a fayre lady Romayn.
The. xix. letter.



Take full of sorowe and
pensifenes, to the Lybia
taking but litle thought
or care: yf thy smalle
thought passed any thig
on me, & also if my trou-
bles and dolours were lodged and byd
rest in the, than thou shuldest perceyue
and se howe small the quarell were, the
whiche I make to the, in respect of the
turment that I do sustre, if the blaspyng
flames issued out, as the tyred bondes
do bren me within, the smoke wold rea-
che to the heauens, and make imbies of
the erthe: if thou doest well remembie
the first time that I saw the in the tem-
ple

A V R E L I V S

ple of the virgins Vestales, thou beyng
there praydest the goddis for thy selfe,
and I on my knees praide the for my
selfe. I know well thou offeredst honye
and oyle to the goddis, and I offered to
the sore weppynge and sighes. It is a
iuste thyng to giue more to him that of-
fereth his inwarde entrailes, than to
hym that draweth money oute of his
purse to offre. I haue determyned and
disposed me, to write to the this letter;
that thou shouldest se how thou art ser-
ued with the arrowes of myne cies, that
were shot at the white of thy seruices.
Alas, howe sorowfull am I to thyne,
least the calme tyme now, doth threten
me with the tempest to come. I will say
that dis loue in thee, causerh the hope
doubtfull in me. Beholde what misad-
venture, I had loste a letter, and as I
retourned to the temple to seke for it, I
had nere lost my selfe, in goyng thither
so often, considering my small merite.
I see well, that myne cies the ladders
of my hope, are set on so hye a wall, that
no lesse is the doubte of my falle, than
the daunger of the clumppng by. Thou
bowyng downe the leaues of thy hygh
merites, haste brought me to the poynt

Do.ii.

of

of continuall seruice. Let me haue the
 fruit and geue the leues to whom thou
 wilt, By the immortal goddis, I haue
 geet meruail, for surely I thought that
 in the temple of the virgins Vestals, no
 man shuld haue had temptacions. But
 as nowe I do fynde by experience, that
 this woman is more liberall, and sooner
 overcome, than is fast and stealthy kept
 and watched, than other. All the corporall
 damages are first herde of, et they
 be knowen, and knowen et they be felt,
 and seen et they be felt, and felt, et they
 be tasted, yet it is not so in loue. For
 first they fele the stroke thereof, et they se
 the way how it cometh. The lightning
 is not so sodenly, but it is sente afore the
 thunder clappe, nor the wall fallerh not
 so sodenly, but first some stones breake
 a sunder, nor the cold cometh not so fast
 on, but some small shewerynges cometh
 before: but a only loue is not felt till it
 be setled in the entrilles. Let every man
 know it that know it not, and thou lase
 by Libe if thou wilt, knowe: Loue slepeth
 whan we wake, and waketh whan
 we slepe, and laugheth whan we wepe,
 and weepeth whan we laughe: it assu-
 reth in takyng, and taketh in assueryng.
 And

A V R E L I V S.

And speaketh when we be still, and is
 stille when we speake: And specially it
 is of that condiciou, that for to greeue
 vs that wee desyre, it causeth vs to lye
 in payne. I sweare to the, when my
 will became thy seruant, and thy beauti-
 e caused that thou were my lady, when
 I was in the temple and returned
 agayne thyther, not desiring the, thou
 beholdest me, and I as unhappy looked
 on the. But what a thought came to
 me, that my harte being whole, thou
 hadst deuyded, being in healthe, thou
 hadst hurte, beinge alwey thou hadst
 floure, beinge myne, thou hadst ro-
 ten it, and that wooste of all is, not
 healyng to my lyfe, thou consentedst
 that loue shoulde me to the death, Ma-
 ny tymes lady Iulia considering that
 all my thoughtes ben high, and my for-
 tune lowe, I woulde haue separate my
 selfe fro the. But considering that my
 trauailes are well applied in thy seru-
 ces, I saie though I myght, I will not
 be seporate fro the. I will not denye one
 thyng, and that is, that curbed loue ra-
 ther awaite the taste of all thynges, and
 yet thereby alonly it giueth vs appetite,
 the whiche greeueth vs much yll profite.

This

This is the proofe of hym that louethe
 hartily. For one disfauour of hym that
 is beloued, is more than all the fauours
 of this lyfe. I thynke lady Libia thou
 art greatly aduanced to see me furward
 as a philosopher, and to knowe me in
 ward a secrete lover. I praise the Libia
 discouer me not: For if that the goddess
 giue me longe lyfe, I am minded for to
 amende. And though I be at this houre
 but a yong foole in the art of loue, whil
 I am olde, I shall bee wyse: the god
 dis knowe what I desyre, and the force
 that I dooe enforce me to: but as the
 fleshe is weake, and the harte tender,
 and hath many occasions and fewe ver
 tues, and the worlde sabryll, and the
 people malicious, I passe this begyn
 nyng and spryng of floures, with hope
 that in harvest I shal haue some fruite.
 Dame Libia docest thou thynke that
 philosophers though they were neuer
 so sage, be not stricken with the cruelties
 of loue? and that vnder theyr course
 clothes, theyr fleshe is not smothered
 secretly among the hard bones soft fleshe
 is bredde, vnder the warpe huskes the
 chestrutte is nouerished. I saie, that
 vnder course apparayle is trewe and
 perfit

A V R E L I V S.

perfylte loue. I denye not but that our
 flacke nature refpeth not with ver-
 tues: nor I deny not, but there be yong
 wanton deſyres not reſſelled with ver-
 tuous purpoſes: I denye not, but that
 the hytte of youthe is not reſtrayned
 with the byddell of reaſon. I deny not,
 but that that the fleſhe procureth, is di-
 uers tymes withſtande by wiſedome.
 And alſo I knowledge wel, that he
 that is not amorous, is a foole. And thou knoweſt, that though we be
 wiſe, we leaue not therfore to be men.
 All that euer we learne in all our lyues
 ſufficeth not to knowe how to rule the
 fleſhe one houre. To wyſe men in this
 caſe hath fallen many errors: there be
 many maſters in vertues, and many
 mo hath been, and yet they haue been
 overcome with vices: wherefore thou
 dooeſt thou meruaile of me alone? I
 confeſſe of a truth, that I hadde neuer
 myne vnderſtandynge ſo clere, as when
 Cupide fanned wynde on me with his
 winges. There was neuer none vnto
 my tyme, that euer was noted wyſe,
 but firſt he was a priſoner, & bound with
 the loue of Cupide. Scacian was amo-
 rous on Tamy: Solon Salamin? giue

of the lates, was amorous of Bete-
 ane: Siratus Epitelenus left his ston-
 wyse, and was enamoured of a bonde
 woman, that he broughte from the
 warres: Cleobulus of Caria whan he
 was full .xv. yere olde, and had reade
 philosophy .xlv. yere, leaving the house
 of his neighbours, full of the ladder
 and dyed: Demetrius prince of Grece,
 and a greate philosopher of Grece, at
 the prayer of one of his lovers slew his
 wife: Anacharsis a philosopher a Sci-
 thian of his father syde, and a greke of
 his mothers syde, was so enamoured
 of a woman of Thebes, that he taught
 hyr all his cunnynge: and whan he was
 sycke in his bed, he red in the schoole
 for hym. Epimenides of Crete, that
 slepte .xlv. yeres without waking and
 thought he was .x. yere a greate wor-
 thyper of the goddis, yet he was ban-
 nished from Athens for the love of
 women: Archelaus Tyrantyn, murther of
 plato, and discipyle of Pythagoras,
 occupied his mynde more to inuent the
 mynde of plone, than his forces in doc-
 trines of vertues: Gorgio Cleonimo,
 booke in Syceyl, kept rather concubi-
 nes in his chambres than booke in the
 schooles

A V R E D I V A S .

schadest. All these were my sainen, and
 yettue made se, howe at the last in pynne
 they were overcome with the fishe. ¶
 Then blame not me alone: for as I
 haue tolde of so fewe in noubre, so I
 coulde recyte of other a holle arme. ¶
 Of trobles he ought to haue many thinges,
 that my lybe taken as curious in loue.
 He must haue his eien displayed on her
 that he loveth, his vnderstandyng sore
 altered, it that he thynketh, his tonge
 troubled in that he wuld saie. So that
 in seying he be blind, in thoughtes wand
 dyng, and in speaking troubled. ¶
 As by Albia, the louyng in mocherpe pass
 seth by mocherpe: but where as the true
 heere is, there is the grete and no more
 herpe. ¶ Loue the doeth her poplone, and
 cruel Cupido fyereth his arrowes vp to
 the fetters. ¶ Than the euen wepe, the
 better spghethe, the fleshe toynbleth,
 the spuelwes thynk, the vnderstandyng
 wavereth grasse, reason faileth, and so at
 faileth to the erth, so that finally the
 hearte dancet abydyng in hym selfe, hold
 both lytell of nothyng of hym selfe. ¶
 As this I saie, by cause that knowlege to
 loue faileth in me: yett be ye sure that
 the wombes fade menot to weake in

M A R C V S

thy seruyce. And sithe it was myne
aduenture to see the, nowe it is my
chaunce to knowe the, I demaund no-
thyng elles of the, but that thou wylt
loue me cruely, sythe I loue the with-
out fapnyng, and yf thou haste harde
that I am speke at my herte, I despie
the to dooe me some good: for sythe it
is al onely in the, it is, reason that thou
all ouely seke for remedy. I was great-
ly comforted, whan Fabius Caryllyne
despyed me in thy behalfe to be a pris-
soner, and I dyd incontinent all that
thou dydest despie, to the extent that
thou on some date shouldest doo that I
despie. And beholde lady Lybba, the
woman that is serued with seruicers, it
is reason that she receiue some prayers.
And thoughbe my strengthes haue noo
power to open the gates of thy poun-
tise, as not to agree to thy demaunde,
yet all my labours bee bycause of thy
renowme. I prae the by stouer not the
one nor begyle me not with the other.
For nothe thou seest that in goauyng
is remedye, and in truiste is comforte,
but promysse is deceyuable, the delai-
yng is peryllous, and the entreastyng
dreadful. I see beate well, that the
hady

A V R E L I V S.

happie demaunde, deserueth a long and
 sweete: but I wold not that thou shouldest
 do so: but as I despie the, so despie
 me. I saie agayne, I am all thyne,
 and not myne owne. And as for my
 selfe in all thynges I wyl serue the.
 And lady Lybia regarde, that it were
 as much honour for the, as profitable
 for me, to tourne thy disordinate desy-
 res and purpose. For thou seest well it
 is muche better to heale shortly than
 to late with failyng of thy purpose.
 All women hepe one daungerous opy-
 nion, that is, they will neuer receiue
 counsell that is giuen them in a great
 cause: and yf it be so, as I thynke, sith
 thou arte praised and esteemed of great
 beautie, than bee esteemed to receiue
 good counsell. And in this maner in
 case that my damage bee very greate,
 and thy patience verie lyttell, I shall
 be called wylle to giue the such counsel,
 and thou myghte gracious to folowe it.
 One thyng I saie, and pardone me,
 though I shewe it to the, how that wo-
 men bee greatly infamed, that wyl
 take no counsell, and suche as wyl as-
 sure the, renoume by the oppynion of
 other, as muche as though they were
 determyned

determined so to do theyr selfe. Wher-
fore I would ye shuld do one thyng for
an other, as I counsaile you. And if thou
syndest any yll therby, withdraue thy
hande. I wyll saie no more to the, but
that I do present to the all my unhap-
py troubles, my desperate syghes, and
my scrupces as thy seruant: All trou-
bled dolours, my woordes of philoso-
phy, and my amorous teares. Also I
send the a gyrdell of golde, and I gync
it the on the condicion, that thou sette
thy neeces thereon, and apply the verte
to me, I praye the goddis to gync me to
the, and the to me. Marcus Aurelius
the philosopher wyrteth this in very
great secreete.

Thus endethe the Golden booke of
the eloquent Marke Aurelie emperor:
who so euer be reder therof mai take it
by reason, for a reche and a newe la-
bour, and specially princys and gover-
nours of the common welthe, and im-
puders of iustyce with other. Also the
common people ech of them mai finde
the labour conuenient to their estate.
And therein is contained certayne right
hygh and profounde sentences, and
dallome counsailes, and merueylous
deuyces

A V R E L I V S.

druppes against the encomburance of
 fortune: and right swete consolacions
 for them that are ouerthrowen by for-
 tune. Finally it is good to them that di-
 geffe it, and thanke god that hath gra-
 uen suche grace to a painym in gyuing
 vs example of vertuous lyuinge, with
 hye and salutary doctrine and mar-
 nationous instructions of perfectnes. Cer-
 tainly as great prayse as ought to be
 gyven to the auctoure, is to be gyven to
 the translatours, that haue laborious-
 ly reduced this treatyse out of Greeke
 into Latin, and out of Latin into Casti-
 lian, and out of Castilian into French,
 and out of French into English, written
 in high and swete styles. O ryght hap-
 py traugyle, syth that such fruite is ps-
 sued thereof. And also blessed bee the
 handes that haue written hit. A ryght
 precyous meate is the sentences of this
 boke: But fynally the sauce of the said
 swete style moueth the appetyte. Ma-
 ny bokes there be of substantiall mea-
 tes, but they be so rude and so vnswete-
 ry, and the stile of so small grace, that
 the fyrst morcell is lochsome and noy-
 full: And of suche bookes foloweth to
 lye hole and sounde in Lybaries, but
 I trust

M A R C V S

I trust this myll not. Of trouth great
praise is due to the auctour of his tra-
uaile. And sythe there can be no grace
equipolent in erthe, let vs praye to god
to gyue hym grace and rewarde in he-
nen. Amen. Graces to god.

FINIS.

Thus endeth the volume of **M**athe
Aurelie, emperour, otherwyle called
the golden booke, translated oute of
Frenche into Englishe by **J**ohn Boun-
chier knyghte lord Barners, deputye
general of the kynges towne of Calais
and marches of the same, at the in-
stant desyre of his newewe spon-
sor **F**rancis Bryan knyghte,
ended at Calais the
tenth day of **M**ar-
che, in the yere
of the Reigne
of our souer-
ayne
lord kyng **H**enry
the .viij. the
xxliii.

LONDINI in aedibus Thome
Bertheleti typographi re-
gii typis impress.

**Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum solum.**

M. D. XLVI.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PRESS

